

SPECIAL REPORT: CRISIS IN EGYPT

TIME Revolution.

And what it means for the Middle East. By Fareed Zakaria



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No turning back A protester holding empty glass bottles takes cover behind a graffiti-marked wall as Egyptian demonstrators push toward Tahrir Square. Photograph by Dominic Nahr—Magnum for TIME

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ON THE COVER: Photograph by Corentin Fohlen—Sipa Press

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To Our Readers

What We Saw at the Revolution.

TIME reporters and photographers take you behind the scenes of the uprising in Egypt

LAST WEEK, AFTER THE EGYPTIAN OPPOSITION called for a march after prayers, TIME's Abigail Hauslohner, based in Cairo, and TIME's Rania Abouzeid, who had just returned from covering the Tunisian uprising, walked among the protesters and felt the blunt and brutal response of the regime's antiriot police. To escape club-bearing cops, Hauslohner ran through narrow streets and found refuge in a small courtyard, only to have a tear-gas canister land near where she stood with a small group of protesters. She clambered up a stairway to the roof and saw cops going door to door and opening fire. Abouzeid took a different route: when a tear-gas canister landed right next to her, one of the protesters handed her a can of soda. "Here," he said, "put Pepsi on your eyes. It won't burn as badly."

Revolutions aren't pretty. The birth of democracy is never easy. The events of the past two weeks across the Middle East are of world-historic importance, and we are using every resource to cover them. The Egyptian army believes in the maxim that the revolution should not be televised—or photographed. Our two contract photographers, Yuri Kozyrev and Dominic Nahr, were both stopped by Egyptian soldiers. On Monday, Jan. 31, Nahr was photographing at a looted mall and was surrounded at gunpoint by soldiers who took all of his camera's memory cards. During the Feb. 2 clashes in Tahrir Square, soldiers grabbed Kozyrev; an Egyptian secret policeman opened his camera and confiscated his memory card as well.

Our main story, by contributing editor-at-large Fareed Zakaria, takes a longer view of what is happening. Zakaria is cautiously optimistic about the possibility of an indigenous democracy in Egypt. He will discuss his cover story and the rapidly changing landscape on his CNN Sunday show *Fareed Zakaria GPS*. While Fareed takes the view from above, deputy international editor Bobby Ghosh looks at the young people who are making the revolution happen on the ground. Joe Klein asks the larger question, Why is the U.S. in a dysfunctional relationship with prob-



Chaos in the streets Supporters of President Mubarak pour into Tahrir Square in Cairo

lematic rulers like Hosni Mubarak and Afghanistan's Hamid Karzai? And speaking of authoritarian rulers, take a look at our Instability Index, a graphic look at the leaders in the Middle East who are most likely to face revolutions of their own.


The Egyptian uprising is changing by the hour, and we are covering it in real time every day on TIME.com. In addition to Hauslohner and Abouzeid, we have Vivienne Walt and Andrew Lee Butters there. Our website had one of the earliest reports of re-emerging public support for Mubarak. Millions of readers are following this epic story on TIME.com. In fact, January marked a record number of readers for TIME.com, according to Omniture: 22.5 million unique visitors.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



On the ground in Cairo Clockwise from top left: photographers Yuri Kozyrev and Dominic Nahr and reporters Abigail Hauslohner and Rania Abouzeid

A promotional poster for the TV show 'The Chicago Code'. The top half features a large, close-up portrait of a Black man with a mustache, wearing a suit and tie, looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. Below this, the title 'THE CHICAGO CODE' is written in a large, white, stylized font that resembles a city skyline. To the right of the title, the text 'MON FEB 7' and '9/8c FOX' is displayed. Below the title, a group of five police officers in tactical gear are walking towards the viewer on a city street at night. The background shows a city skyline with lights. The overall tone is dramatic and gritty.

He built an empire
of corruption.

THE CHICAGO CODE

These cops are going
to bring him down.

MON FEB 7
9/8c **FOX**

FOX CODE



FOR SMARTPHONES

10 Questions.

The comedian reprises his role for Season 3 of NBC's *Parks and Recreation*.
Aziz Ansari will now take your questions

What is the worst audience response you have ever received?

*Shannon Bruffy,
NEW YORK CITY*

One time I told a joke, and the audience didn't laugh. That's the worst it could ever get. Every now and then you'll have a bad set, but you have to keep going. If I really believe in a new joke, I'll try it again and see if it works. If it doesn't work, then everyone is wrong but me.

If you could invite a comedian to dinner, who would it be?

Brenda Garcia, JAKARTA
One of my big inspirations is Chris Rock. He hit the zeitgeist with his comedy specials. He said what everyone was thinking. I really look up to Larry David. It's amazing what he's done with *Curb Your Enthusiasm*. And the fact that he's an older dude and still killing it—if I can be an old Indian dude doing awesome comedy, that would be great.

If comedy doesn't work out for you, what's your fallback?

Chris Oltrogge, CHICAGO
Geez, I still need to have a fallback? Come on, Chris! I would probably sell knives on the Home Shopping Network. No, make that swords. I can brag about the craftsmanship. Should be fine.

Don't you ever get tired of having to be funny?

*Daulet Bakbergenov,
ALMATY, KAZAKHSTAN*
Don't you get tired of being from Kazakhstan? [Laughs.] Sometimes it can be tiring when people want you to be on. But I think if you do comedy, there's a part of your personality that likes being



NOT SURE WHAT I'M SUPPOSED
TO WRITE IN THIS BOX.
I LIKE COOKIES. —AZIZ ANSARI

funny and enjoys exercising that part of your brain—or else you wouldn't do it.

How much do comedians steal jokes from one another?

Mark Sawaya, BEIRUT
I don't think that's a common problem. I think that has been overblown because of the Internet. There are a couple of famous accusations, but it's not really a thing that happens very often, in my experience. You're not going to move up [in the business] doing that.

Has your ethnicity helped or hindered your career?

Ashir Siddiqui, TORONTO
I would probably say helped it? It's hard to say. I have friends who are actors, and if they're just normal-looking

white dudes, it's really hard because there are so many normal-looking white dudes. Not a lot of weird-looking Indian dudes with beards running around. When I first started out, I would get offers to audition for parts where [I'd play] this Indian guy with an accent. I'm not interested in doing that kind of humor. Eventually it becomes clear that this guy doesn't want to do jokes that rely on ethnicity.

Do you have any special type of ritual you do before you perform stand-up?

*Olivia Wilcox,
YORKTOWN HEIGHTS, N.Y.*
That's a racist question. No—um, I don't have any kind of special ritual. I sometimes listen to the previous show

for any changes I made that I want to incorporate. I drink tea. It's all really boring—no cocaine or heroin.

How has Twitter had an impact on comedians' material?

*Mike Loretto,
PLEASANT HILL, CALIF.*
Twitter is an outlet that, if you have a funny thought, you can immediately share it with a large group of people. My jokes are usually longer than one-liners, so it's not as helpful for me.

How do you come up with your jokes?

Zarif Ahmed, QUEENS, N.Y.
I usually write about things that make me frustrated or afraid, things I'm fascinated by. One thing I've been trying to write about is, I have a friend who's about my age who had a baby. I just couldn't imagine having a baby now. Why am I so scared about having a baby? Because I can do whatever I want right now. I don't want to say the joke, but it's hilarious stuff. Trust me.

What is your best piece of advice for aspiring comedians?

Sloan Piva, PORTSMOUTH, R.I.
The quote Steve Martin used to give people: "Be undeniably good." It's about working hard, being patient and holding yourself up to such a high standard that when you reach it, people will have to take notice. ■



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MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

Inbox

Tigers and Bears, Oh My!

Re "The Roar of the Tiger Mom" [Jan. 31]: As a young Chinese American who has been on the receiving end of this sort of discipline, I can say that the ways of the tiger mom are effective and laudable to an extent. What worries me is the lack of creativity Asians instill in their children. Without creativity, we can only follow paths that someone else has made instead of making our own paths.

Grace Wu, FREMONT, CALIF.

I wonder if Amy Chua would have changed her parenting style had she had sons. Chinese parents (among others) are notorious for treating their daughters less favorably than their sons. I would rather have a strong, protective, nurturing mama grizzly than a cold, tyrannical and ruthless tiger mom.

Angela Albert, LONG BEACH, CALIF.

While it may be tempting to fault some of Chua's methods, it is abundantly clear that she's a parent who is actively engaged in the education of her children. If only it were so of many more parents in this country. We might find our children's achievement levels in math, reading and science improving dramatically.

Dana M. Craig, DAVENPORT, IOWA

The notion that it's a tough world out there, which is Chua's main justification for her harsh way of raising her kids, is self-fulfilling: it's people like her who make this world so tough. As an Asian American, I saw both worlds. The tiger moms' way is not education; it's manufacturing.

Kee Kim, LA HABRA, CALIF.

Chua may falsely believe that she is motivated by the well-being of her children, but through her unrelenting oppression, she is inflicting upon them a cycle of abuse

that will be passed on. Sadly, her children will probably lack the compassion to comprehend their own actions as parents, in much the same way Chua is justifying her parents' heartless ways. Tigers extinguish kids' flames of innovation, courage and self-expression—the traits Chua ironically is seeking to instill in her children.

Edward Porter, AGUA DULCE, CALIF.

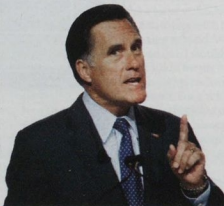
As a teacher in a public high school, I welcome tiger moms with open arms. If more parents reared focused, disciplined kids at home, maybe I'd get credit for their successes instead of being blamed for their failures.

Rose Molina, HUNTINGTON BEACH, CALIF.

SOUND OFF

'Listen up, Republicans: This time, can we please nominate someone with a chance of winning? Mitt Romney, of course.'

Grace Howard, DOTHAN, ALA., on "Mitt Hits the Road Again," Jan. 31



Roaring
Tigers,
Anxious
Choppers

2%

Headbanger
Nation

3%

How readers responded
FAVORABLE CRITICAL

The Roar of
the
Tiger Mom

51%



I have no quarrel with how Chua raised her daughters. As a mother of two beautiful girls, I agree completely with the idea of assuming children's "strength, not fragility." The name calling is excessive, but the outcome is prosperous!

Sofia Rodriguez, GAINESVILLE, VA.

Parenting in Perspective

Thank you to Nancy Gibbs, who finally put the argument over the tiger mom in perspective in "Roaring Tigers, Anxious Choppers" [Jan. 31]. One sure thing about parenting: no one can crack the code. Using common sense, we parents need to take the best ideas from both styles.

Antonia Nako, CINCINNATI

Clearly there is no perfect parenting strategy, but—from where I sit, a college admissions office—children are often done a huge disservice by what Gibbs refers to as Anxious Chopper parents. If I had a dollar for every parent who strode into my office and said, "We are here for our interview," or filled out an interview form for a child, I would be rich enough to sign my own children up for violin, tennis and Mandarin lessons.

Sylvia Burian, NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

Kids and Concussions

Re "Headbanger Nation" [Jan. 31]: As a pediatric emergency-medicine physician and youth sports coach, I see firsthand the minimizing of key symptoms that young athletes report after head injuries. All head injuries should be taken seriously by athletes, parents, coaches and physicians. Limiting participation in sports at the time of an injury and allowing a return to participation only after proper clearance are even more important when dealing with children and adolescents. Not doing these things can have deadly consequences.

Michael P. Poirier, NORFOLK, VA.



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FOR TYPE 2 DIABETES

No Matter How
Hard You Try,
Your Blood
Sugar Numbers
Can Still Be
Too High.

Ask your Doctor if adding Onglyza can help you.

When you need extra help, one option is Onglyza, a prescription medicine used along with diet and exercise to control high blood sugar in adults with type 2 diabetes. Onglyza can be used with one of several common oral diabetes medicines.* Your results may vary. Onglyza should not be used to treat type 1 diabetes or diabetic ketoacidosis (dangerously high levels of certain acids, known as ketones, in the blood or urine). Tell your doctor if you have a history or risk of diabetic ketoacidosis. Onglyza has not been studied with insulin.

May reduce spikes after you eat.

Onglyza may help reduce after-meal blood sugar spikes that can cause higher blood sugar levels. Onglyza may also help lower high morning blood sugar and A1C (the test done by your doctor every three months). Most people taking Onglyza did not experience hypoglycemia (very low blood sugar); however, it may occur, particularly when taken with another diabetes medicine, such as a sulfonylurea.

Important Safety Information.

When ONGLYZA is used with certain other diabetes medicines to treat high blood sugar, such as a sulfonylurea, hypoglycemia (low blood sugar) may occur. Symptoms of low blood sugar include shaking, hunger, sweating, headache, rapid heartbeat, change in mood, and change in vision. Follow your healthcare provider's instructions for treating low blood sugar.

If you have hypersensitivity (allergic) reactions such as rash, hives, and swelling of the face, lips, and throat, stop taking ONGLYZA and call your healthcare provider right away.

When ONGLYZA is used with a thiazolidinedione (TZD), such as pioglitazone or rosiglitazone, to treat high blood sugar, peripheral edema (fluid retention) may become worse. If you have symptoms of peripheral edema, such as swelling of hands, feet, or ankles, call your healthcare provider.

The most common side effects with ONGLYZA include upper respiratory tract infection, urinary tract infection, and

headache. Your healthcare provider should test your blood to measure how well your kidneys work. You may need a lower dose of ONGLYZA if your kidneys are not working well.

Tell your healthcare provider if you start or stop taking other medications, including antibiotics, antifungals or HIV/AIDS medications, as your healthcare provider may need to change your dose of ONGLYZA.

Tell your healthcare provider if you are pregnant or breast-feeding, or plan to become pregnant or breast-feed.



Please read the Important Patient Information about Onglyza on the following page and discuss it with your healthcare provider.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Extra Help. Extra Control.

For more information and valuable savings offers call 1-800-ONGLYZA (800-664-5992) or visit www.Onglyza.com

*Metformin, a sulfonylurea or a TZD.

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ONGLYZA™ (saxagliptin)

Read the Patient Information that comes with ONGLYZA before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This patient leaflet does not take the place of talking with your healthcare provider about your medical condition or treatment.

What is ONGLYZA (saxagliptin)?

ONGLYZA is a prescription medicine used with diet and exercise to control high blood sugar (hyperglycemia) in adults with type 2 diabetes.

ONGLYZA lowers blood sugar by helping the body increase the level of insulin after meals.

ONGLYZA is unlikely to cause your blood sugar to be lowered to a dangerous level (hypoglycemia) because it does not work well when your blood sugar is low.

ONGLYZA has not been studied in children younger than 18 years old.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ONGLYZA?

Before you take ONGLYZA, tell your healthcare provider about all of your medical conditions, including if you:

- have type 1 diabetes. ONGLYZA should not be used to treat people with type 1 diabetes.
- have a history or risk for diabetic ketoacidosis (high levels of certain acids, known as ketones, in the blood or urine). ONGLYZA should not be used for the treatment of diabetic ketoacidosis.
- have kidney problems.
- are taking insulin. ONGLYZA has not been studied with insulin.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if ONGLYZA will harm your unborn baby. If you are pregnant, talk with your healthcare provider about the best way to control your blood sugar while you are pregnant.
- are breast-feeding or plan to breast-feed. ONGLYZA may be passed in your milk to your baby. Talk with your healthcare provider about the best way to feed your baby while you take ONGLYZA.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

ONGLYZA may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ONGLYZA works. Contact your healthcare provider if you will be starting or stopping certain other types of medications, such as antibiotics, or medicines that treat fungus or HIV/AIDS, because your dose of ONGLYZA might need to be changed.

How should I take ONGLYZA?

- Take ONGLYZA by mouth one time each day exactly as directed by your healthcare provider. Do not change your dose without talking to your healthcare provider.
 - ONGLYZA can be taken with or without food.
 - During periods of stress on the body, such as:
 - fever
 - infection
 - trauma
 - surgery
- Contact your healthcare provider right away as your medication needs may change.
- Your healthcare provider should test your blood to measure how well your kidneys work. You may need a lower dose of ONGLYZA if your kidneys are not working well.
 - Your healthcare provider may prescribe ONGLYZA along with other medicines that lower blood sugar.
 - Follow your healthcare provider's instructions for treating blood sugar that is too low (hypoglycemia). Talk to your healthcare provider if low blood sugar is a problem for you.
 - If you miss a dose of ONGLYZA, take it as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for your next dose, skip the missed dose. Just take the next dose at your regular time. Do not take two doses at the same time unless your healthcare provider tells you to do so. Talk to your healthcare provider if you have questions about a missed dose.
 - If you take too much ONGLYZA, call your healthcare provider or Poison Control Center at 1-800-222-1222, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room right away.

What are the possible side effects of ONGLYZA?

Common side effects of ONGLYZA include:

- upper respiratory tract infection
- urinary tract infection
- headache

Low blood sugar (hypoglycemia) may become worse in people who already take another medication to treat diabetes, such as sulfonylureas. Tell your healthcare provider if you take other diabetes medicines. If you have symptoms of low blood sugar, you should check your blood sugar and treat if low, then call your healthcare provider. Symptoms of low blood sugar include:

- shaking
- rapid heartbeat
- hunger
- headache
- sweating
- change in vision
- change in mood

Swelling or fluid retention in your hands, feet, or ankles (peripheral edema) may become worse in people who also take a thiazolidinedione to treat diabetes. If you do not know whether you are already on this type of medication, ask your healthcare provider.

Allergic (hypersensitivity) reactions, such as rash, hives, and swelling of the face, lips, and throat. If you have these symptoms, stop taking ONGLYZA and call your healthcare provider right away.

These are not all of the possible side effects of ONGLYZA. Tell your healthcare provider if you have any side effects that bother you or that do not go away. For more information, ask your healthcare provider.

Call your healthcare provider for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store ONGLYZA?

Store ONGLYZA between 68° to 77°F (20° to 25°C).

Keep ONGLYZA and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General information about the use of ONGLYZA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient leaflets. Do not use ONGLYZA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ONGLYZA to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

This patient leaflet summarizes the most important information about ONGLYZA. If you would like to know more information about ONGLYZA, talk with your healthcare provider. You can ask your healthcare provider for additional information about ONGLYZA that is written for healthcare professionals. For more information, go to www.ONGLYZA.com or call 1-800-ONGLYZA.

What are the ingredients of ONGLYZA?

Active ingredient: saxagliptin

Inactive ingredients: lactose monohydrate, microcrystalline cellulose, croscarmellose sodium, and magnesium stearate. In addition, the film coating contains the following inactive ingredients: polyvinyl alcohol, polyethylene glycol, titanium dioxide, talc, and iron oxides.


What is type 2 diabetes?

Type 2 diabetes is a condition in which your body does not make enough insulin, and the insulin that your body produces does not work as well as it should. Your body can also make too much sugar. When this happens, sugar (glucose) builds up in the blood. This can lead to serious medical problems. The main goal of treating diabetes is to lower your blood sugar to a normal level.

High blood sugar can be lowered by diet and exercise, and by certain medicines when necessary.

ONGLYZA (saxagliptin) tablets

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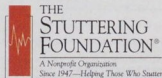
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The Moment

A MASSIVE WINTER STORM SOME 2,000 MILES (3,200 KM) LONG FROZE MUCH OF THE U.S. in place. Planes were grounded, roofs collapsed, trains stood still, and in Oklahoma, the Tulsa World was unable to print a newspaper for the first time in its history. The good news? Punxsutawney Phil did not see his shadow, which promises an early spring.

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Potential losses at Kabul Bank threaten to derail the country's nascent financial system

1 | Afghanistan

Millions Missing at Kabul Bank

Afghan regulators are struggling to uncover what happened to up to \$900 million that may have gone missing from Kabul Bank, Afghanistan's largest and most sophisticated financial institution. The sum, now thought to be three times as large as an estimate made in August, is alleged to have been siphoned off in a web of corruption, bribes and mismanagement that likely benefited a small group of privileged and politically connected Afghans. Analysts fear that because the bank is a pillar of the country's meager financial system, its collapse could crash Afghanistan's fragile economy and spark domestic chaos. The government is determined to keep the bank afloat, though doing so would require a large cash injection from its already strapped, foreign-aid-dependent budget.

2 | India

Tibet's Troubled Lama

A media frenzy surrounded Gyen Trinley Dorje, the 17th incarnation of the Karmapa Lama, after investigators seized about \$1 million in cash from his monastery home in India, including currency in Chinese yuan. Dorje, 25, is the second most famous Tibetan religious figure in exile, after the Dalai Lama. He has long faced rival claimants to his holy position as well as the distrust of some in New Delhi who see him as a possible Chinese agent and question the nature of his dramatic 1999 escape from Chinese Tibet. Dorje's associates and allies, like the Dalai Lama, insist the cash comes from routine donations made by Buddhists around the world, including mainland China.



The military-backed legislative body will soon pick a new President and Vice President

3 | Burma

A Democracy, in Theory

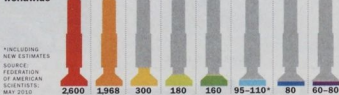
The Burmese parliament convened for the first time in more than two decades, bringing into effect a new constitution that technically ends a half-century of military rule. While Burmese officials tout a transition to democracy, most of the seats remain controlled by the all-powerful military. Though Than Shwe, the highest-ranking figure in the junta, is not in the mix to become President, most expect him to retain ultimate power in the country.

5 | Pakistan

An Expanded Nuclear Arsenal

According to new estimates, Pakistan has steadily grown its nuclear stockpile over the past two years and now boasts between 95 and 110 deployed weapons. The nuke count, tallied by U.S. intelligence and nongovernmental analysts in Washington, puts the unstable, poverty-racked country significantly ahead of its archrival India. While Islamabad insists its arsenal is for deterrence, there are long-standing concerns about the Pakistani nuclear program's vulnerability to Islamist extremists.

Estimated stockpiles of strategic nuclear warheads worldwide



4 | Niger

Election Held To Restore Civilian Rule

The impoverished West African nation held elections meant to bring an end to a year of military rule. In 2010 a coup ousted Mamadou Tandja, who had come to power in 1999 after replacing another military leader. Tandja had attempted to seek a third term and now faces corruption charges. The polls came amid tensions between Niger and its former colonial ruler, France, over recent kidnappings of French nationals by suspected al-Qaeda terrorists.

Numbers: **99.6%**

Percentage of southern Sudanese who voted for secession in a January referendum

\$4.9

BILLION Estimated loss for BP in 2010, the year of the Gulf oil spill; it was BP's first annual loss since 1992



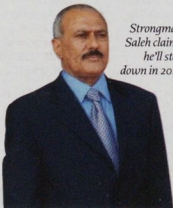
6 | Japan

ROARING TO LIFE *Shinmoedake, a volcano that is part of the Mount Kirishima cluster of volcanoes on the Japanese island of Kyushu, showed its first sign of activity in 52 years when it erupted Jan. 26. It continued to spew thick ash, toppled trees and shattered windows of buildings and cars as far as five miles (8 km) away, prompting officials to widen the exclusion zone around the peak, which served as the villain's lair in the 1967 James Bond film You Only Live Twice.*

7 | Yemen

Egypt Effect Hits Wider Region

In a bid to stave off growing protests against his rule, President Ali Abdullah Saleh announced that he would not seek to extend his presidency after his current term ends in 2013. Taking their cues from events in Egypt, Saleh's opponents are seeking the autocrat's immediate ouster. He has ruled the fractious country since 1978. Elsewhere, protests demanding democratic reform prompted the King of Jordan to sack his Cabinet and name a new Prime Minister.



Strongman Saleh claims he'll step down in 2013

8 | Tunisia

Return of an Islamist

Rachid Ghannouchi, leader of the once outlawed Tunisian Islamist party al-Nadha, returned to his native country after 22 years in exile in London. Thousands greeted Ghannouchi upon his arrival, made possible only after a popular uprising toppled the country's decades-old authoritarian regime. Critics fear al-Nadha's Islamism may erode Tunisia's secular politics. Officials have said that the nation's first free elections could happen within the next six months.



Thousands of Ghannouchi's supporters met him at the airport in Tunis on Jan. 30

9 | Belarus

Sanctioning a Despot

The U.S. and E.U. imposed sanctions on Belarus in an attempt to get President Alexander Lukashenko to release political prisoners after a postelection crackdown. Since the Dec. 19 vote, 600 political opponents, including seven presidential candidates, have been arrested. Critics say Lukashenko, who has ruled since 1994, stole the election.

10 | Florida

A Challenge To Health Care Reform

A federal judge ruled that last year's landmark health care reform law is unconstitutional because it mandates that people buy health insurance. Twenty-five states signed on to the suit, which is not the first to challenge the legislation. The law, which has been upheld by other judges, will likely end up before the Supreme Court.

138,226

Number of calories in the Sloppy Big Ben Roethlisberger, a massive burger named after the Super Bowl QB

11.2 MILLION

Number of illegal immigrants living in the U.S. in 2010, virtually the same number as in 2009, according to the Pew Hispanic Center

Washington

The Politics Page



The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

Can Jon Huntsman go from being Obama's man in Beijing to beating him in 2012?

To catch up the uninitiated: on Jan. 31, Huntsman, a former Utah governor and the current U.S. ambassador to China, announced plans to leave his position in April. Then his kitchen cabinet of advisers spread the word that Huntsman was considering a run for the 2012 GOP nomination. Asked about this, President Obama joked, "I'm sure that [his] having worked so well with me will be a great asset in any Republican primary."

Who is Jon Huntsman?

Only 50, he worked for the last three GOP Presidents and served as Utah's governor for five years. He's rich—his billionaire father's chemical firm invented the McDonald's clamshell container—so he'll have plenty of money for a bid. Before accepting Obama's China offer, Huntsman visited the key GOP primary battleground of South Carolina and convened a group of top party activists. Obama strategist David Plouffe said then that the prospect of a Huntsman candidacy made him "a wee bit queasy ... I think he's really out there speaking a lot of truth about the direction of the party."

Could Huntsman morph from unfamiliar upstart to GOP hero in time to get the nomination?

Some claim Huntsman's service in the Obama Administration and his centrist positions on the environment and gay rights will be the kiss of death among conservatives if he runs. But his bold outlook and ability to critique the President's foreign policy from the inside may give him a leg up. "We're the bright new shiny object now, and he has to fill that out," says one of Huntsman's strategists. "But I think my guy will."

morning joe

Catch Mark Halperin's "Driving the Week" segment on *Morning Joe*, 6 to 9 a.m. Monday on msnbc

PERSONAL HISTORIES

Have They Buried The Hatchet?

BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL

Barack Obama and John McCain have seen and spoken to each other more in the past two weeks than at any time in the past two years. The courtship began last month, when the two men spoke at the Tucson memorial. Afterward, McCain penned an op-ed in the *Washington Post* praising Obama's speech. That led Obama to call McCain and invite him over for a chat, which took place Feb. 2. McCain has also been in touch with new White House chief of staff Bill Daley about other matters, including U.S. Colombian relations.

Both McCain and Obama have reason to start over. Now that he's won a fifth term, McCain is "much happier this year," says Senator Tom Udall, a New Mexico Democrat who is working with McCain on a number of thorny issues, including restricting, campaign financing, national parks, water rights and even immigration reform. "He's much more willing to sit down and talk about ideas to move the country forward."

Obama's mellowed as well. Since the November election, he has been keen to show that he can work with Republicans, which may explain his

role in the warming trend. (No photo of the meeting was released, but the two spoke of earmark reform and deficit reduction, according to a White House official.)

"Now there's an occasion for the two of them to get together on a bunch of issues and actually get something done," says Democratic Senator Tom Carper of Delaware, who is working with McCain on line-item-veto legislation that Obama favors. "I don't know that they'll ever be close friends, but the President's agenda and John's agenda are closely aligned—so why not get together and have

some fun? It could benefit the country enormously."

McCain aides say the distrust between the two men was always more political than personal. "What some viewed as personal was simply

fundamental philosophical differences on the issues," says Brooke Buchanan, McCain's spokeswoman. "If you look at the issues this session, there is now common ground." Some of the items Obama mentioned in his State of the Union speech were issues McCain has been working on for years: earmark reform, free trade, reduced spending, revision of the tax code and medical-malpractice reform. It could be the beginning of a beautiful relationship.

And perhaps the maverick is back. "It appears Mac is back on track to be a player of significance and importance," says former adviser Mark McKinnon. "The lion in winter is starting to roar."





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Lab Report

Health, Science and Medicine



Steeler frenzy Pittsburgh fans put their hearts into cheering for their team on its way to Super Bowl XLV

HEART DISEASE

How a Home-Team Loss Can Break a Fan's Heart

FOOTBALL FANS ARE NOTORIOUSLY PASSIONATE about their teams, and new research suggests that their emotional connection can put them at increased risk of a heart attack after the Super Bowl.

Scientists studying death rates in Los Angeles County—where two different teams have made it to the championship game—found that deaths from heart attacks rose in the weeks after the L.A. Rams lost the title game in 1980 but dropped slightly in the weeks following the Raiders' victory in 1984. Plus, the study reported, it wasn't just men who were affected but women as well.

For avid fans, high-stakes games like the Super Bowl can trigger the same kind of stress and fight-or-flight response as extreme events like earthquakes. It's not so much the win or loss that sets off the ticker but rather the intensity of the game and the fan's emotional attachment to the team. L.A.'s first Super Bowl, for instance, was a tight contest on home turf lost by a beloved team, while the victory years later was played out of state by a newly transplanted franchise. Loyalty, it seems, sometimes has a steep price.

CANCER

Hormone therapy can fend off the hot flashes of menopause, but studies have linked combination estrogen and progestin pills to an increased risk of breast cancer, especially in women who start the treatment within five years of menopause. Now a large British trial confirms the risk and finds a similar danger associated with estrogen-only pills, which a U.S. study had found not linked to a heightened risk of breast cancer.

NUTRITION

Dietary Guidelines Limit Salt, Fat, Sugar—and Food

EVERY FIVE YEARS, THE government makes an attempt to help Americans eat more healthily by revising its Dietary Guidelines for Americans (DGA). This year's official advice includes familiar messages to reduce salt, sugar and fat and to eat more fruits and vegetables, as well as new recommendations to incorporate more seafood. And for the first time, the guidelines urge people simply to eat less overall, a move that was applauded by nutrition experts, given the obesity epidemic.

The new DGA is also more practical than previous versions, providing concrete advice to drink water instead of sugary beverages and to fill half of every meal plate with fruits and veggies.

Still, the guidelines aren't perfect. They include a recommendation that Americans without a history of high blood pressure lower their daily intake of sodium to 2,300 mg, a level that many experts consider to be too high. A healthier target, they say, would be 1,500 mg per day for the average adult.

Of course, the guidelines alone can't revamp Americans' less-than-healthy diets. So this year the government is also revising packaged-food labels and partnering with projects such as the First Lady's Let's Move campaign to promote physical activity.

FROM THE LABS

Nasal Vaccine For Measles

SNIFF AND YOU'RE IMMUNE: that's what researchers are hoping to accomplish with a powdered nasal vaccine that could replace the two measles shots children now receive. The inoculation has worked in animal studies, and human trials are under way in India, where using the easier nasal route may help more kids get vaccinated.



Humans' Closest Genetic Kin

ON THE EVOLUTIONARY TREE, chimpanzees are our closest cousins, but genetically we're more like orangutans. That's what the newly published full sequence of the orangutan's genome reveals, suggesting that while humans, apes and chimps share a common ancestor, *Homo sapiens* and orangutans retain genetic traits that have been lost by the primate species more closely related to us.

DOUBTING DARWIN

Despite centuries' worth of scientific evidence in support of evolution, most high school biology teachers don't endorse Darwin's theories in their classes, according to a new survey. Instead, 60% of them instruct their students on the principles of evolution only as they pertain to molecular biology, as one alternative among a variety of theories about biology or as necessary to pass national tests.

DATA SET

50%

Percentage of Americans with untreated high blood pressure despite availability of treatments

2%

Percentage growth in memory-related regions of the brain among elderly people who walked regularly for one year

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Verbatim

'Everyone should have the right to marry the person that they love.'

BARBARA BUSH, daughter of former President George W. Bush, expressing her support for marriage equality in a video spot for the Human Rights Campaign; her father is opposed to the legalization of same-sex marriage

'This is going to muck up my Everest trip.'

ADAM POTTER, a Scottish climber, on what he was thinking when he fell 1,000 ft. (305 m) from a mountain in Scotland; he suffered only minor injuries and plans to summit Mount Everest

'I wanted to create a whimsical, surreal experience.'

NICHOLAS HARRINGTON, a 16-year-old boy who admitted to putting a grand piano on a sandbar in Miami's Biscayne Bay; Harrington and his father filmed the process for a video that the teen plans to submit as part of his art-school application

'It's a legal product. I choose to smoke. Leave me alone.'

JOHN BOEHNER, Speaker of the House, after being asked about his cigarette habit

'We're going to take over a TV station and a radio channel and try and take over power at key centers.'

CHRIS KNIGHT, a former professor in Britain and now an avowed anarchist, saying that he and hundreds of others will use smoke bombs, roadblocks and other diversions to cause chaos at Prince William and Kate Middleton's April 29 wedding

'You were strung out on crack.'

CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN, former U.S. Senator and a candidate for Chicago mayor, responding at a forum to opponent Patricia Van Pelt Watkins's charge that Braun had been "missing in action" from the city; Watkins has admitted to using marijuana and cocaine as a teenager but not since. Braun later apologized

'There were points in my life where I felt oddly irresistible to women. I'm not in that state now.'

JACK NICHOLSON, actor, 73, expressing sadness about his age



TALKING HEADS

Larry Downes

Explaining why it's pointless for governments to regulate the Internet, on *Slate*:

"While politicians and self-appointed consumer advocates opportunistically decry anarchy on the digital borderlands, those of us who reside there know it runs a hell of a lot better than anyplace else we've lived. Digital life has its own norms and values, enforced by efficient and effective engineering... Even if the Internet really does need saving, however, the most useful thing for traditional regulators to do would be nothing." —1/28/11

Gary Younge

Commenting on the disconnect between how the U.S. regards its soldiers and how it regards its wars, in the *Guardian*:

"There is a reverence for the military in the U.S. on a scale rarely seen anywhere else in the West... [But] when Pew surveyed public interest in the war over an 18-week period last year, fewer than 1 in 10 said it was the top news story they were following in any given week... The country, it seems, has moved on. The trouble is, the troops are still there." —1/30/11

William Kristol

On Obama's move to the center, in the *Weekly Standard*:

"It seems clear that, for the next two years at least, President Obama... will work on triangulating to stay in office, à la Bill Clinton... Republicans shouldn't be too intimidated by Obama's semi-convincing move. It's not as if Obama's center is a vital one, or even a coherent one. It's just a slightly better position than where he's been on the left." —1/31/11

Milestones



John Barry

WHEN I HEARD THAT JOHN had died Jan. 30 at 77, I instantly recalled his tune for *The Quiller Memorandum*, which is probably not one of his better-known scores. I can remember where I was when I first heard it, much as I can remember where I was the first time I heard his music for *Born Free*. Here's the thing: I cannot

remember the stories of those movies in detail, but I remember the tunes. Sometimes the reason we have such deep and lasting emotional connections to movies is the music, and everything that made the mood of those movies work was from John. The melody is what keeps you tied to a movie forever, and he wrote some of the greatest melodies.

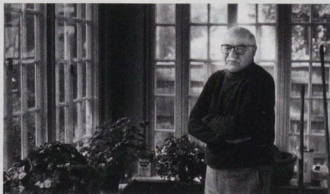
My favorites are more obscure than *Out of Africa*, *Dances with Wolves* or the James Bond film scores for which he was so famous. I will admit, though, that we looked at *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* when we were doing *Inception* and were just blown away by the musical innovation. I loved *Hammett* and the way John created a melancholic and nostalgic sense of time and place. I also loved *Zulu*; the whole score is based on one short motif, so strong and so bold.

Like the work of all good

composers, everything John wrote was elegant and came from his own point of view. He was a Yorkshire man, and even in his brightest work, you could always see the moors and the fog. Even his cheeky stuff had an underlying darkness.

John was part of a particular era in London, an era when the city had so much to say to the world. Ridley Scott would tell me how he used to hang out at John's recording sessions. He'd say, "Wow, John Barry's doing a session. Maybe we can sneak in and hear something." But for me, it was more like, "Maybe I can sneak in and learn something." I learned from him that moody is good. There haven't been that many deserving film-music legends. John truly was one of them. —HANS ZIMMER

Zimmer composed the Oscar-nominated score for Inception



Daniel Bell

DANIEL BELL, WHO DIED Jan. 25 at 91, wrote two of the second half of the 20th century: *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, which explained how new information technologies were transforming the economy, and *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, a critique of the moral

consequences of mass prosperity. Both, beautifully written and passionately argued, will be read long into the future.

Bell, born Daniel Bolotsky in New York City, was one of the City College graduates of the late 1930s who, along with Irving Howe, Irving Kristol and Nathan Glazer, came to be known as the New York Intellectuals. While most of that

group went through a variety of political and intellectual phases, Bell was different. He was a longtime social democrat who melded his belief in a mixed economy and political pluralism with a cultural conservatism that saw both the affluence of capitalism and the '60s counterculture as dangers to society's "moral temper."

His skeptical temperament made him leery of both the claims of self-defined elites and the supposed promise of modernism. He saw a will to power in the first and nihilism in the second. Mocking what became postmodernism, Bell liked to cite a Yiddish saying: "If you don't know where you're going, any road will get you there." —FRED SIEGEL

Siegel, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, is the author of The Prince of the City

INDICTED Japanese lawmaker

Ichiro Ozawa, the power broker behind the landmark victory of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) over the long-ruling Liberal Democrats in 2009, was charged Jan. 31 with violating political-funding laws. Three of his former aides had already been charged in the case, which has to do with a 2004 land deal. Ozawa, whose career spans some 40 years and who challenged Prime Minister Naoto Kan for the DPJ leadership last September, has denied wrongdoing. He said he would not resign from parliament or the ruling party.

SENTENCED Nazril Irham,

the Indonesian pop star widely known as Ariel, was sentenced to 3½ years in jail and fined about \$28,000 because of homemade sex videos, starring him and two female celebrities, that turned up on the Internet last year. The singer was found guilty of violating Indonesia's controversial 2008 anti-pornography law. According to Ariel, who plans to appeal, the videos were stolen. The sentence pleased few. Ariel's supporters were disappointed, as were Islamic hardliners who desired a tougher judgment.

—ALEXANDRA SILVER





Rana

Foroohar

We're Not Home Yet. Rising foreclosures and falling housing prices—tied to the lack of jobs—could smother the recovery

AT A BARGAIN-BASEMENT AUCTION OF foreclosed homes held Jan. 29 in a New York City Sheraton hotel, one of the music tracks that played as bidders prepared to pounce on distressed properties was James Brown's "Living in America." It was either a major planning blunder or a brilliant thematic choice. Either way, the song's lyrics ("everybody's working overtime...") were a strangely fitting sound track to a new American reality: while corporate profits rise and economic growth returns, the housing market is only getting worse.

The latest figures from the Case-Shiller home-price index, showing a fifth straight month of price decreases—including major drops in cities such as Boston, Washington, Las Vegas and Dallas—have economists worried that we may be headed for a double dip in the housing market this year, which could restrain the economic growth we're finally starting to see. And 2011 was supposed to be the year housing recovered; now, analysts are betting on anything from a 5% to 20% price decline.

A rising number of foreclosures, tied to persistently high unemployment, is smothering housing's rebound. According to the Mortgage Bankers Association, there are already 4.5 million homes in some stage of foreclosure. Some experts believe an additional 1.5 million may be added to the pile this year. With that kind of distressed inventory on the market, it could take four to five years for prices to come back up, according to Capital Economics senior U.S. economist Paul Dales.

What's particularly troubling is that data suggests a good number of those

properties belong to lower-income, higher-risk borrowers who had already gotten a break on their mortgage payments via federal programs designed to reduce defaults. November data (the latest available) on these so-called modified loans showed that 45% of them had been canceled, meaning that the borrowers very likely redefaulted, even after the payments had been adjusted.



This is yet another example of the bifurcated nature of America's economic "recovery." The Fed can keep interest rates low to encourage lending, and the government can dole out tax breaks to encourage spending, but as Dales points out, "If you don't have a job, you aren't going to be able to pay your mortgage." Indeed, the biggest factor in mortgage defaults is unemployment—and as we all know by now, the unemployment rate is still unnaturally high for this point in a recovery, especially among vulnerable groups like minorities and those without college degrees.

Unfortunately, the trouble in the mortgage market contributes to the trouble with job creation. "Lower home prices don't help jobs, because they constrain consumer spending," notes Yale economist and housing expert Robert Shiller. Job growth is tied to spending, because without more expected sales, companies won't hire. But

people whose homes are decreasing in value won't spend; it's the wealth effect in reverse. So the poor housing market is holding back everything. Shiller, who just returned from the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, believes that the world leaders and policymakers who were there "don't really realize the extent of the suffering that's occurring. They are too insulated. But it's a vicious cycle that can make people feel worthless."

Don't get too comfortable if you live in an area that hasn't suffered big price cuts, because the problem could spread in the coming months. The latest numbers indicate that the lower end of the housing market is seeing the sharpest declines. But those declines could well drag down the value of higher-priced properties. Given that U.S. households still keep about a quarter of their wealth in property, the implications for consumer spending are sobering. "More than keeping interest rates low, the best thing that Washington could do for the housing market is to try and create some jobs—quickly," says Dales.

In lieu of that, policymakers might also get more creative about how mortgages are structured. In his

2008 book, *The Subprime Solution*, Shiller suggested a drastic fix to the current problem—a continuously changing mortgage balance that would be reset periodically based on both home prices and unemployment. Thus, mortgages would reflect ongoing economic reality, and banks would have to keep lending. Meanwhile, to help banks cope with the risk involved, a market would be created to let them trade home-price futures, rather than splicing and dicing baskets of high-risk mortgages and then passing the risk on to investors. (A small market of this kind already exists at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange.) "We need to be creative. It's all about democratizing finance and bringing more of the benefits of it to individual consumers," says Shiller. These and other housing-market reform ideas were deemed too radical when the crisis began. As it is now, they might not be radical enough. —WITH REPORTING BY MACKENZIE SCHMIDT/NEW YORK

According to Robert Shiller, 'Lower home prices don't help jobs, because they constrain consumer spending.' It's the wealth effect in reverse

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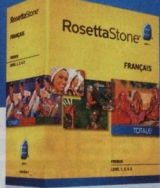
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Joe

Klein

Does Safety Trump Democracy? Why strict realism and neoconservative idealism have failed us overseas

THERE WAS SOME AWFUL NEWS FROM Afghanistan last week, overlooked in the midst of Egypt's tectonic eruption. Kabul Bank is near collapse. Apparently the owners—who include President Hamid Karzai's brother Mahmood and other assorted political cronies—had, among other nefarious activities, taken the bank's assets and speculated in Dubai real estate, which promptly crashed. The Afghan government does most of its business through Kabul Bank; if the bank fails, the government won't be able to pay its workers, including the army. Millions in international aid may be washed away.

And so, a familiar dilemma: Bail out the bank or let it collapse? My first thought was that the situation might provide the NATO coalition with some leverage: we could offer to bail out the bank, but only if Karzai stepped aside and allowed an esteemed technocrat—like Ashraf Ghani, who ran for President against Karzai and was crushed—to run the show in the interim. But this was no leverage at all, as I learned in conversations with several Afghan sources. Karzai would just as soon allow the bank to collapse. "Then he could say [to the Americans], 'a Western diplomat told me, 'You figure out a way to pay the army.'"

How on earth do we get saddled with such creepy clients as Karzai and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, over and over again? In large part, it's a vestige of the Cold War, when all the world was a potential theater in the struggle against communism. Afghanistan was certainly one; the Soviet departure created a vacuum, and the Taliban rushed in. The Kiss-

ingerian effort to transfer Egypt from the Soviet account to the American side in the 1970s, later perfected by Jimmy Carter, was certainly another.

Our adventures in the world have been accompanied by a never-ending tug-of-war between U.S. foreign policy realists and idealists. Through much of the 20th century, the idealists tended to be liberals in the spirit of Woodrow Wilson, who



wanted World War I to make the world "safe for democracy." Since Vietnam, however, liberals have been more pessimistic. They winced when Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union an "evil empire," fearing a nuclear confrontation. They were infuriated by the naiveté and hubris of George W. Bush's "Freedom Agenda," which was promoted as a rationale for the invasion of Iraq after that country's weapons of mass destruction turned out to be a mirage. They are increasingly skeptical about the war in Afghanistan and appalled by the prospect of a pre-emptive war with Iran.

Nowadays, the foreign policy idealists tend to be neoconservatives—and as Egypt erupted, they were crowing. "Dictatorships are never truly stable," Elliott Abrams, the former Reagan and Bush national security expert, wrote in the *Washington Post*. "Regimes that make moderate politics impossible make extremism far more likely." These were noble sentiments, celebrating Bush the Younger's agenda. Others cited

Condoleezza Rice's 2005 Cairo speech, in which she publicly chided Mubarak and called for democratic reform. But Rice's speech was just rhetoric; in reality, Bush embraced Mubarak as fiercely as his predecessors, fearing that an Egyptian epiphany would produce an Islamist government. Indeed, the tangible fruits of the Freedom Agenda turned out to be mostly rotten: elections in the Palestinian territories, which no one but Hamas (and Bush) wanted, produced a Hamas plurality; a push for democracy in Afghanistan produced a foolish constitution, centralizing power in a notoriously decentralized country, and corrupt elections. And the jury is still out on Iraq, where the most vital "democratic" force may turn out to be the populist, Iran-leaning cleric Muqtada al Sadr.

The truth is, both strict realism and idealism have failed us overseas. Too often, realism is just a rationale for maintaining the autocratic status quo, which never lasts, especially when presided over by terminal narcissists like Mubarak and Karzai. Too often, idealism assumes democracy can be plopped into a culture without a middle class or a history of free institutions.

A smarter foreign policy would quietly promote a careful transition from autocracy to something more benign. The best way to do this is to latch onto institutions, not individual leaders, in the developing countries we seek as allies. Sadly, the most reliable institution to latch onto—to train, equip and support—is often the army. Humanitarian aid is nice, but difficult to disperse and too often corrupted. Military aid comes with strings that bind—the continuing need for spare parts, for example. But strong armies create security, a necessary precursor for democracy.

It is not a sure thing, of course; armies have provided a steady global diet of horrific dictators. In some cases, like Pakistan, military assistance helps create greater regional tension. But when we're lucky abroad, as in Turkey, the military midwives the transition to democracy. That will be true in Egypt as well—and perhaps even in Afghanistan—if we're lucky.


How on earth do we get saddled with such creepy clients as Karzai and Mubarak, over and over again?

SPECIAL REPORT



THE REV

Even with counterrevolutionary forces challenging change in



Blowback *Mubarak supporters head to Tahrir Square to clash with antigovernment protesters*

Photograph by Dominic Nahr for TIME

OLUTION

Egypt, democracy can still work. Here's how **By Fareed Zakaria**



Upheaval A message for the President—and the English-speaking world—from Tahrir Square; a bloodied protestor in



MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Is there anything to fear from the Muslim Brotherhood? The group was founded in 1928 as an organ of social reform. Its philosophy was influenced by theologian Sayyid Qutb, above, who advocated the overthrow of Egypt's secular government and was eventually hanged. In the 1970s, the Brotherhood disavowed violence, though some jihadists, including Ayman al-Zawahiri, were once members. A Brotherhood faction in a new government would be wary of the U.S. and cozy with Hamas. It has called for a referendum on the Camp David accords with Israel.

WHEN FRANK WISNER, THE SEASONED U.S. diplomat and envoy of President Obama, met with Hosni Mubarak on Tuesday, Feb. 1, the scene must have been familiar to both men. For 30 years, American diplomats would enter one of the lavish palaces in Heliopolis, the neighborhood in Cairo from which Mubarak ruled Egypt. The Egyptian President would receive the American warmly, and the two would begin to talk about American-Egyptian relations and the fate of Middle East peace. Then the American might gently raise the issue of political reform. The President would tense up and snap back, "If I do what you want, the Islamic fundamentalists will seize power." The conversation would return to the latest twist in the peace process.

It is quite likely that a version of this exchange took place on that Tuesday. Mubarak would surely have warned Wisner that without him, Egypt would fall prey to the radicalism of the Muslim Brotherhood, Egypt's Islamist political movement. He has often reminded visitors of the U.S.'s folly in Iran in 1979, when it withdrew support for a staunch ally, the Shah, only to see the regime replaced by a nasty anti-American theocracy. But this time, the U.S. diplomat had a different response to the Egyptian President's arguments. It was time for the transition to begin.

And that was the message Obama delivered to Mubarak when the two spoke on the phone on Feb. 1. "It was a tough conversation," said an Administration official. Senior national-security

aides gathered around a speakerphone in the Oval Office to listen to the call. Mubarak made it clear how difficult the uprising had been for him personally; Obama pressed the Egyptian leader to refrain from any violent response to the hundreds of thousands in the streets. But a day later, those streets—which had been remarkably peaceful since the demonstrations began—turned violent. In Cairo, Mubarak supporters, some of them wading into crowds on horseback, began battering protesters.

It was a reminder that the precise course that Egypt's revolution will take over the next few days and weeks cannot be known. The clashes between the groups supporting and opposing the government mark a new phase in the conflict. The regime has many who live off its patronage, and they could fight to keep their power. But the opposition is now energized and empowered. And the world—and the U.S.—has put Mubarak on notice.

Whatever happens in the next few days will not change the central narrative of Egypt's revolution. Historians will note that Jan. 25 marked the start of the end of Mubarak's 30-year reign. And now we'll test the theory that politicians and scholars have long debated. Will a more democratic Egypt become a radical Islamic state? Can democracy work in the Arab world?

Backward, Corrupt, Peaceable

FEW THOUGHT IT EVER WOULD COME TO THIS. Egypt has long been seen as a society deferential to authority, with a powerful state and a



Giza; some of the tens of thousands of Egyptians who flooded Cairo after Mubarak refused to step down



bureaucracy that might have been backward and corrupt but nonetheless kept the peace. "This a country with a remarkable record of political stability," wrote Fouad Ajami in an essay in 1995, pointing out that in the past two centuries, Egypt has been governed by just two regimes, a monarchy set up in 1805 and the Free Officers Movement that came to power in 1952 with Gamal Abdel Nasser. (France, by comparison, has been through a revolution, two empires, five republics and a quasi-fascist dictatorship in much the same period.) In the popular imagination, Egyptians are passive, meekly submitting to religion and hierarchy. But by the end of January the streets of Cairo and Alexandria and other cities were filled with a different people: crowds of energetic, strong-willed men from all walks of life and even some women, all determined to shape their destiny and become masters of their own fate.

What changed? Well, Egyptians were never as docile as their reputation suggested. Egyptian society has spawned much political activism, from Islamic radicals to Marxists to Arab nationalists to liberals. But ever since the late 1950s, the Egyptian regime has cracked down on its civil society, shutting down political parties, closing newspapers, jailing politicians, bribing judges and silencing intellectuals. Over the past three decades Egypt became a place where few serious books were written, universities were monitored, newspapers carefully followed a bland party line and people watched what they said in public. In the past 20 years,

the war against Islamic terrorist groups—often genuinely brutal thugs—allowed Mubarak's regime to clamp down even harder on Egyptian society in the name of security.

Reform and Revolution

EGYPT HAS HAD SOME SUCCESSES, AND IRONICALLY, one of them has helped foment change. Over the past decade, Egypt has been reforming its economy. From the mid-1990s on, Egypt found that in order to get loans from the IMF and the World Bank, it had to dismantle the most inefficient parts of its somewhat socialist economic system. In recent years, Mubarak—persuaded by his son Gamal, a Western-trained banker—appointed a set of energetic reformers to his Cabinet, who embarked on an ambitious effort to restructure the Egyptian economy, lowering taxes and tariffs, eliminating regulations and reducing subsidies. Egypt, long moribund, began growing vigorously. From 2006 to 2008, the economy expanded about 7% a year, and even last year, after the economic crisis, growth came in at almost 6%. Long isolated behind protectionist walls, with media in the regime's grip, Egypt also became more connected with the world through the new communication technologies.

Why would economic progress spur protests? Growth stirs things up, upsets the settled, stagnant order and produces inequalities and uncertainties. It also creates new expectations and demands. Tunisia was not growing as vigorously as Egypt, but there too a corrupt old order had opened up, and the resulting ferment



AL-JAZEERA

Many Americans think of the Qatari satellite channel al-Jazeera as the mouthpiece of terrorists. But its coverage of popular uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt is winning it respect as the definitive chronicler of the Arab revolution. In Egypt, al-Jazeera's headquarters was closed down, its journalists briefly arrested, its equipment confiscated and its satellite feed blocked, yet the network managed to provide gritty, up-close coverage of the situation in the streets. Available on cable in only three U.S. cities, it found new audiences online: traffic to its website increased twentyfold.





Jubilant A crowd lifts a demonstrator during the Feb. 1 march in Tahrir Square
Photograph by Yuri Kozirev—Noor for TIME

Rage Across the Region. After Egypt and Tunisia, other governments in the Arab world are feeling the heat



ALGERIA

Weeks of protests forced the government to cut taxes on sugar and cooking oil, and wheat supplies increased



LIBYA

Taxes on some foods have been abolished. With protests planned, soccer games in the country have been suspended



SYRIA

Calls for anti-government protests have grown on Twitter and Facebook; the latter is banned



LEBANON

After Hizballah toppled Prime Minister Hariri, his supporters took to the streets



JORDAN

When tax cuts didn't stop demonstrations, King Abdullah II sacked his Cabinet and appointed a new Prime Minister



YEMEN

Protests forced President Saleh to announce he will not seek re-election in 2013

proved too much for the regime to handle. Alexis de Tocqueville once observed that "the most dangerous moment for a bad government is when it begins to reform itself." It is a phenomenon that political scientists have dubbed "a revolution of rising expectations." Dictatorships find it difficult to handle change because the structure of power they have set up cannot respond to the new, dynamic demands coming from their people. So it was in Tunisia; so it was in Egypt. Youth unemployment and food prices might have been the immediate causes, but the underlying trend was a growing, restive population, stirred up by new economic winds, connected to a wider world. (Notice that more stagnant countries like Syria and North Korea have remained more stable.)

Mubarak coupled the forward moves in the economy with a series of harsh, backward steps politically. Having allowed somewhat more open parliamentary elections in 2005, the regime reversed course and rigged the elections massively in 2010, reducing the Muslim Brotherhood's repre-

sentation in parliament from 88 to zero. Ayman Nour, who ran against Mubarak in the presidential election in 2005, was arrested on trumped-up charges, jailed, tortured and finally released in 2009. Mubarak had allowed some freedom of speech and assembly surrounding the 2005 elections, then reversed what little opening there had been. Judges and lawyers who stood up to the regime were persecuted.

On the crucial question of political succession, Mubarak bitterly disappointed many Egyptians, including several in his Cabinet, who believed that 2011 would be the year for a transition to an Egypt without him. (Many of his aides, to be clear, hoped that their patron, Gamal Mubarak, might rise in a controlled political atmosphere. But even they thought the system would have to become far more open.) Last year, Mubarak signaled that he intended to run for a sixth term, despite being 82 and in poor health. It was a sign that whatever progress might take place with the economy, serious political reform was unthinkable.

The Case for Hope

HAD MUBARAK MADE THE SPEECH PROMISING not to run again last year rather than on Feb. 1, he would have been hailed as a reformer ushering his country into a new era. Today, it seems too little, too late. But his reputation will depend in large part on what sort of regime succeeds him. If Egypt does descend into chaos or become an Iranian-style theocracy, people might look back at Mubarak's regime fondly. Ironically, if Egypt does better and turns into a functioning democracy, his legacy as the dictator who ruled his country before it moved to greater freedom will be more mixed.

Which will it be? Anyone making predictions with confidence is being foolhardy. Egypt is a vast, complex country and is in the midst of unprecedented change. There are certainly troubling signs. When the Pew Research Center surveyed the Arab world last April, it found that Egyptians have views that would strike the modern Western eye

Instability Index. With Ben Ali gone and Mubarak tottering, who's next? For the most vulnerable, see the upper right



Sources: Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index; U.N. Human Development Index (a composite measure of life expectancy, education and per capita gross national income); TIME graphic by Andrea Ford and Lon Teetzel

as extreme. Pew found that 82% of Egyptians support stoning as a punishment for adultery, 84% favor the death penalty for Muslims who leave the religion, and in the struggle between "modernizers" and "fundamentalists," 59% identify with fundamentalists.

That's enough to make one worry about the rise of an Iranian-style regime. Except that this is not all the Pew surveys show. A 2007 poll found that 90% of Egyptians support freedom of religion, 88% an impartial judiciary and 80% free speech; 75% are opposed to censorship, and, according to the 2010 report, a large majority believes that democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.

I remain convinced that fears of an Egyptian theocracy are vastly overblown. Shi'ite Iran is a model for no country—certainly not a Sunni Arab society like Egypt. The nation has seen both Mubarak and Iran's mullahs and wants neither. More likely is the prospect of an "illiberal democracy," in which Egypt becomes a

country with reasonably free and fair elections, but the elected majority restricts individual rights and freedoms, curtails civil society and uses the state as its instrument of power. The danger, in other words, is less Iran than Russia.

My hope is that Egypt avoids this path. I cannot tell you in all honesty that it will. But much evidence suggests that democracy in Egypt could work. First, the army, which remains resolutely secular, will thwart any efforts to create a religious political order. The Egyptian army may well fight the efforts of democrats to dismantle some elements of the military dictatorship—since the elites of the armed forces have benefited mightily from that system—but it is powerful and popular enough to be able to draw certain lines. In Egypt, as in Turkey, the army has the opportunity to play a vital role in modernizing the society and checking the excesses of religious politics.

Egyptian civil society is rich and complex and has within it a persistent liberal

strain. Since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, Egyptians have wanted to catch up with the West. Liberal currents of thought and politics have repeatedly flourished in the country—prominently in the 1880s, the 1920s and the 1950s. Egypt's Fundamental Law of 1882 was an advance over almost all Asian and Middle Eastern constitutions at the time.

Egypt also retains some core elements of a liberal constitutional order, chief among them a judiciary that has fought excessive state power for decades. In a fascinating and timely book published in 2008, *Egypt After Mubarak*, Bruce Rutherford of Colgate University details the long and persistent struggle of the judiciary to carve out an independent role for itself, even under a military dictatorship. The recent moves toward a more open and

The Rising
For continuing coverage of Egypt, including dispatches, photos and videos, go to time.com/egypt

market-based economy have also created a new business elite that has some stake in a liberal, constitutional order.

It is possible, of course, that the economic reforms will not continue. As in many countries, policies that revoke subsidies and dismantle protected industries provoke public anxiety and spirited opposition from business oligarchs (who often turn out to be those who have been protected). But given that Egypt will need economic growth, it will not be possible to turn back the basic movement toward freer markets. Such policies require better courts and laws, plus efforts to tackle corruption and improve education. And over time, they will create a middle class more independent of the state.

The Appeal, and Limits, of Islam

THE REAL CHALLENGE REMAINS THE ROLE of Islam, Islamic fundamentalists and the Muslim Brotherhood. Islam has a special appeal in Egypt and the broader Arab world, but it's important to understand why. Secular dictators have ruled these lands for decades and ruthlessly suppressed all political activity. The one place they could not shut down was the mosque, so it became the center of political activism and discourse, and Islam became the language of opposition.

This is not to deny that for many Egyptians, "Islam is the solution," as the Muslim Brotherhood's slogan claims. But the group has an allure in Egyptian society largely because it has been persecuted and banned for decades. Once it has to compete in the marketplace of ideas, it might find that, as in many Muslim countries, people are more worried about issues of governmental competence, corruption and growth than grand ideological statements.

Those issues, close to home, were at the heart of the protests not only in Egypt but also in Tunisia. It has been fascinating to watch as the legendary "Arab street" finally erupted spontaneously and freely. It turned out not to be consumed with the Middle East peace process and the Palestinians. Israelis have reacted to the unrest in Egypt with horror, convinced that any change will mean less security for their country. To an extent this is true. The peace between Egypt and Israel was never between two peoples but between their regimes. Israel might have to ask itself what policies it will have to pursue to create stability with a democratic Egypt. It would hardly be a cure-all, but were Israel to offer a deal that Palestinians accepted, it would surely help persuade Egyptians that Israel does not seek to oppress the Palestinian people.

The challenge for Israel is the challenge for the U.S. The Egyptian public's attitude toward America is poisoned by years of Washington's backing dictators and offering unflinching support for Israel. The U.S. too will have to ask what it will take to have better relations not merely with Egypt's military elite but with its people. And it will have to avoid the overreaction—common in Israel—that brands every move toward social conservatism as one toward jihad. Asking women to wear veils is different from making men wear suicide belts. If the U.S. is opposed to every expression of religiosity, it will find itself unable to understand or work with a new, more democratic Middle East.

The most interesting aspect of the protests in both Tunisia and Egypt has been how small America loomed in the public's imagination. Those on the street were not centrally concerned with the U.S., though Obama became a focus when it was clear that he could help in pushing Mubarak out. In Tunisia, the U.S. played an even smaller role. In a strange sense, this might be the consequence of both George W. Bush's and Obama's approaches in the region. After 9/11, Bush put a harsh spotlight on the problem of Arab dictatorships in a way that made them impossible to ignore. But he discredited his cause with a foreign policy that was deeply unpopular in the Arab world (the Iraq war, support for Israel, etc.). In 2005, Mubarak was able to tar democracy activists by pointing out that they were arguing for an American agenda for Egypt.

Obama, by contrast, pulled back from an overbearing, aggressive American role, which made it possible for Egyptian liberals and democrats to find their voices without being branded as U.S. puppets. (Even recently, the pro-Mubarak crowd warned that "outside forces" were trying to destabilize Egypt, but it didn't work.) In fact, the protests in Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan and elsewhere have resonated with the broader population of the Arab world because they came from within, having grown organically, and were concerned with the conditions of ordinary Arabs.

For five decades the Middle East has been force-fed a political discourse based on grand ideologies. For the Iranian protesters, America was not just a country or even a superpower but the "Great Satan." What is happening in Egypt and Tunisia might be a return to a more normal politics, fueled by the realities of the modern world, rooted in each country's conditions. In this sense, these might be the Middle East's first post-American revolutions. ■



Strong and Silent. The military has shown its muscle by holding its fire. If Mubarak falls, it may have to lead

BY MARK THOMPSON

AN ARMY TRADITIONALLY makes history by fighting. That's what makes the sidelining of the Egyptian army so startling. Its tanks and soldiers stood mute around Cairo's Tahrir Square, doing nothing as protesters clashed with camel-riding pro-government thugs. The troops watched as demonstrators in the square fled in fear from those brandishing sticks and machetes from on high. The army did little more than fire warning shots, which angered demonstrators seeking protection from Hosni Mubarak's henchmen.

Yet by standing at parade rest, the army was suggesting, at least for the time being, that Mubarak's government, after 30 years in power, can't



Military might Soldiers in armored personnel carriers patrol the protests

count on the army to beat his people into submission. "The army has the capacity to crush demonstrators as well as ... end the regime," says Hala Mustafa, editor of the government-funded *Al-Ahram Quarterly Democracy Review*. "But till now, the army remains neutral."

Sometimes, it seems, inaction speaks louder than action. It makes it clear that the army is not only the most powerful institution left in Egypt but also the one that will determine whether the revolution now under way ends violently. "The history of the Egyptian military is that it has not been the oppressive arm of the government," says Bill Daley, the White House chief of staff. "That's an enormous plus."

Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has twice talked by phone with his Egyptian counterpart, Lieut. General Sami Enan. "So far," Mullen said, "the Egyptian military have handled themselves exceptionally well." Though the army wasn't talking about its goals and methods, Americans familiar with that part of the world believe it highlights one of the benefits of the close U.S.-Egyptian military relationship.

The two men who have been running Egypt lately—soon to retire President Mubarak, 82, and his freshly minted Vice President, 74-year-old Omar Suleiman—both trained at Moscow's Frunze Military Academy, which offered courses in Marxism

and Communist Party work. That's where they learned how to command subordinates—and deal with upstarts. Like the rest of the Egyptian military of their day, they marched for decades in lockstep with the Soviet military's dogma and doctrine.

But ever since the Camp David accords led to a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979, a growing number of seasoned Egyptian military officers have come to U.S. military schools, including the Army War College in Carlisle, Pa.; the Army's Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.; and the National Defense University in Washington, D.C. In the U.S., the curriculum was a little different. Fed on coursework in democracy and civilian control of the military, these younger officers are helping act as the "safety" on the Egyptian army massed on the streets of Cairo and other cities.

"This new generation of Egyptian officers has been exposed to the American military and is impressed not just in the way we fight our wars but also about the relationship between the military and society," says Robert Scales, a retired Army major general who served as commandant of the Army War College. "One of the reasons for the army's

reluctance to squeeze the population in Cairo has to do with the Egyptian military's exposure to the U.S. military," Retired Marine General Anthony Zinni, a former chief of the U.S. Central Command, which includes Egypt, agrees. "If you look at the investment we've made in the [Egyptian] military," he says, "you can see that it may be paying off."

It's a nice line, but the bulk of U.S. support to the Egyptian armed forces consists of weapons, not lessons. U.S. taxpayers are still spending \$3.5 million a day on the Egyptian military, buying it everything from F-16 jets to M-1 tanks. Its 468,000 troops make it the world's 10th largest military, providing a route into the middle class for many officers. Time spent in the army often leads to a lucrative job in Egypt's military-industrial complex after retirement. Army officers carried out the 1952 coup that toppled the monarchy, and all four Presidents since have come from its ranks. It was a hit squad from the army that assassinated President Anwar Sadat at a military review in 1981, but generally the military has stayed out of direct involvement in politics. It has been content to leave the dirty work of dealing with domestic critics of the regime to the reviled Interior Ministry police.

U.S. officials concede they have no idea how the current crisis is going to play out. Their hope is that the Egyptian army uses its clout to ease out Mubarak, a former air force chief, while acting as a bulwark against the Muslim Brotherhood. But Zinni says there are "red lines" the Egyptian army won't let anyone cross. If Islamists try to hijack the uprising, for example, he believes the army would find itself in a fight. Daniel Brumberg of the U.S. Institute of Peace says the Egyptian military won't be able to sit on the sidelines forever. "It may find itself compelled to play an arbitrating role in a new democracy," he says. "That's a much more complicated role."

As the standoff continues, few are more pleased at the restraint shown by the Egyptian military than Gawdat Bahgat, a Cairo-born professor at the National Defense University. "The Egyptian army is not acting like other armies. It did not kill," Bahgat says. "It's fair to say the United States should get some credit for this." While only a handful of Egyptian officers get tapped for such programs, he says, they're the nation's best—and wield outside influence when they return home. —WITH REPORTING BY ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER/CAIRO

10 LARGEST MILITARIES By number of active troops



\$3.5 million

Amount that U.S. taxpayers spend per day on the Egyptian military, buying it everything from F-16 jets to M-1 tanks

THE REVOLU

How a loose coalition of veteran activists and rookie protesters combi

Merry mutineers Protesters in Cairo's Tahrir Square call for an end to Mubarak's reign. The sign reads "Leave" in Arabic

Photographs by Dominic Nahr for TIME



UTIONARIES

ed to create the Middle East's most unusual uprising **By Bobby Ghosh**

YOU THINK YOU KNOW WHAT Arab rage looks like: wild-eyed young men shouting bellicose verses from the Koran as they hurl themselves against authority, armed with anything from rocks to bomb vests. So who were these impostors gathered in Cairo's Tahrir (Liberation) Square to call for the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak? They were smiling and laughing, waving witty banners, organizing spontaneous soccer tournaments and thrusting cigarettes and flowers into the hands of Mubarak's soldiers. They may have turned U.S. policy in the Middle East on its head, but even the American President was moved to praise the people who humbled a staunch Washington ally. Those "who believe in the inevitability of human freedom," Obama said, would be inspired by "the passion and the dignity that has been demonstrated by the people of Egypt."

Those qualities helped undermine one of the Middle East's most durable dictatorships, as well as any number of stereotypes associated with the Arab street. The careful civility energized many thousands of Egyptians who had never marched in protest in their lives to take their families to the city center to assert their claims to freedom. It even seemed to embolden the American President, who like his predecessors has celebrated the prospect of Arab democracy while supporting the dictators who suppress it. Speaking shortly after Mubarak's offer to step down ahead of general elections in the fall, Obama cited the maturity and civic-mindedness of the protesters as reasons for hope that Egypt would deal successfully with difficult questions in the weeks to come.

But the protests brought other scenes, more familiar and more ominous. Power abhors a vacuum, and on Feb. 2, when armed pro-Mubarak forces—as faithful to the stereotype as to the President—confronted the

protesters with rocks and machetes and Molotov cocktails, it reminded the watching world that historic change seldom comes gently: this is no velvet revolution. The rear-guard action by Mubarak's thugs felt very much like the final spasms of a dictatorship that won't go quietly. Provoked by the brutal counterattack, the protesters abandoned their peaceful posture and fought back. The square became a battleground between pro and anti-Mubarak groups, with the military unable or unwilling to intervene.

The battles may continue, but it seems

clear that the revolution is won: that Mubarak will go is no longer in doubt. And that's because hundreds of thousands of people across Egypt joined an uprising that in its first exhilarating week felt like none other in the history of the Middle East. So who were the people who pulled it off? Here's a guide:

The Organizers

MOST EGYPTIANS WHO JOINED ANTI-Mubarak demonstrations in the week leading up to the Feb. 11 "march of millions"





in Tahrir Square say their participation was spontaneous. Many had never attended a political rally before Jan. 25, the first day of protests. But the date and location of that demonstration were hardly impromptu. The event had been planned weeks in advance by a loose coalition of activists who used social-media sites to commemorate Khaled Said, a young Egyptian allegedly beaten to death by police last summer. The cause was joined by some political groups, including the April 6 Youth Movement, named after an

History unfolds Demonstrators gather in Tahrir Square on Feb. 1; that night, Mubarak pledged to step down in September

industrial strike in 2008, and the Ghad (Tomorrow) Party of former presidential candidate Ayman Nour.

Shadi Taha, 32, a Ghad Party member, says he and fellow organizers chose the date for a reason: Jan. 25 was Police Day, perfect for drawing attention to atrocities committed by a police force renowned for its brutality. A protest at Tahrir Square, the site of past demonstrations like the bread riots in the late 1970s, would be a good way to gain attention from the news media.

In the early planning, Taha and his fellow activists envisioned a gathering of about 200 protesters. Then, two weeks before the demonstration, Egyptians, like Arabs everywhere, were mesmerized by the popular uprising in Tunisia. They watched the Jasmine Revolution unfold on satellite TV and saw Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, Tunisia's ruler of more than two decades, flee. "That gave us hope that this might happen in Egypt as well," says Taha.

Galvanized, the activists started going door to door, passing out flyers about the Jan. 25 protest. They put up Facebook pages and posted on Twitter. Nour spoke out against the regime in a YouTube video. Others exhausted their thumbs sending out text messages. "Tell your friends," the messages read. "Look at what is happening in Tunisia. This is how people change their country." They even dialed random numbers in the hope that the exhortations to demonstrate would fall on sympathetic ears.

For all that effort, Taha says that in his wildest dreams, he would not have expected to see 5,000 people in Tahrir Square on Jan. 25. He counted more than 10,000. The turnout also caught the Mubarak regime by surprise: police were unable to prevent the crowd from gathering and had to fire tear gas to get it to disperse. By Egyptian standards, the demonstration was a huge success, and it inspired other people to join. "When the older people saw the younger people go out in the street, they started to come out too," says Amer Ali, a lead organizer in April 6. Spontaneous demonstrations began to break out elsewhere.

But Egyptians, long cowed by the heavy hand of Mubarak's police and intelligence forces, needed a crash course in protest. Activists used websites and text messages to pass around how-tos, some borrowed from Tunisian bloggers: Coca-Cola, they said, was good for washing tear gas from one's eyes. The pro-opposition *Al-Masry al-Yom* newspaper published tips on staying safe in a demonstration: wear comfortable clothes, tie long hair into a bun, bring

water. And this: "Be careful whom you're talking to [because] some 'protesters' may be plainclothes police and may arrest you."

The Protesters

THE ADVICE WAS AIMED AT PEOPLE LIKE Ahmed Shahawi. The unemployed engineer had been drawn to the Jan. 25 demonstration, and he urged his 122 Facebook friends to join him. It was his first taste of political protest—and of tear gas. Afterward, he updated his status: "I'm safe, guys. I'm going back to the Square tomorrow." He was hooked.

Shahawi's Facebook alias is Nicholas Urfe, from the character in John Fowles' *The Magus* who thought he knew everything but didn't. For Shahawi, the Tunisian revolution was an education. Egyptians his age, born right around the time Mubarak became President, have never known any other leader and never believed change was possible, he says. "Tunisians gave us a live example that, yes, you can change the system, and they gave us the courage to do it."

When the government blocked the Internet on Jan. 27, Shahawi needed to find another way to communicate with people who felt the way he did. "I got in my brother's car and said, 'Quick, let's go downtown.'" In retrospect, he believes the government's decision to shut down the Internet backfired. "When you block the Internet, you are asking people to come on the streets," he says, "and anything can happen."

Forced to abandon his virtual world for the real thing, Shahawi found himself drawn into a new community. On Feb. 1, the day of the million-person march, he and 50 other men hauled bags of trash from the city center and piled them into a makeshift dump they'd created. Shahawi said the demonstrations had fostered a sense of unity among people and a stronger civic sense. "This is the first time we see all the Egyptian people all together like this," he said.

That sense of purpose was also apparent in neighborhoods far from the square, where people were left to fend for themselves after police withdrew following the initial protests. Residents formed spontaneous watch groups to guard homes and shops against looters. After vandals broke into the Egyptian Museum, volunteer guards joined forces with the military to make sure they didn't return.

A MANUAL FOR REVOLUTION

Until January, protests were rare in Egypt: the Mubarak regime didn't tolerate them. So when the anti-Mubarak campaign began on Jan. 25, neophytes turned to the Internet for guidance on how to rise up against their ruler. Facebook and Twitter messages (some posted by recent revolutionaries in Tunisia) were a good source of useful tips. Activists even produced a 26-page pamphlet titled *How to Protest Intelligently*, full of detailed advice on where to go, what slogans to chant and what to wear.



NECESSARY CLOTHES AND TOOLS

- 1 A hoodie: It helps protect the face from tear gas
- 2 A pan lid: It can be used as a shield against police sticks or rubber bullets
- 3 Leather gloves: They protect your hands from the heat of tear-gas bombs
- 4 Sports shoes: Necessary to ease your movement
- 5 Thick paint spray: To be used against police cars and armored vehicles
- 6 A rose: To indicate that your demonstration is peaceful
- 7 Scarf: To protect your mouth and nose from inhaling tear gas
- 8 Protective glasses

like Taha and Shahawi, rather than hotheaded university students, have organized and led the protests. The government employs a network of informants on campus to ensure that students stay apolitical, so it's usually after their university years, when graduates have endured long unemployment—and its cultural consequence, the inability to marry—that some drift into politics.

The revolution also benefited from a cadre of political activists who had learned the ropes from campaigning ahead of parliamentary elections late last year. When the vote was blatantly manipulated to give Mubarak's National Democratic Party over 80% of the seats in the People's Assembly, it left opposition activists bitter—and united in their desire for revenge.

That unity helped opposition groups coalesce briefly around Mohamed El-Baradei, the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize winner and former head of the U.N.'s nuclear watchdog group. For Western observers, this allied concerns that Mubarak's exit would leave Egypt in the hands of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Islamist group, which rarely goes along with secular parties, hung back and let them take the lead. The Brotherhood seems to have made the shrewd calculation that the revolution would attract more participants if it wasn't overtly religious. Abdel Mineem Abu al-Fotouh, a member of the Brotherhood's powerful political bureau, told Time it would not seek power. "[We] will not have a candidate after Mubarak, and we don't want to replace the regime. This is not our agenda," he said. The Islamists' goal, at least for the moment, is to cultivate a moderate, democratic image in the eyes of fellow Egyptians as much as with the West. That's another Arab stereotype turned upside down.

By the end of Feb. 2, the thinning crowds of protesters in Tahrir Square were sullen and somber, a far cry from the ebullience of the previous day. There was no more talk of soccer matches, no praise for the military's studied neutrality. But one emotion did survive the bloody denouement: a determination to keep the revolution alive until the despot was gone. "He can't kill us all," said Mostafa Higazy, an engineering professor. "This is an uprising for the freedom and dignity and justice that he took away from us." The revolution, said many in the square, had brought them within a whisker of victory. This was no time to quit. —WITH REPORTING BY ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER, RANIA ABOUZEID AND VIVIENNE WALT/CAIRO AND ARYAN BAKER/BEIRUT ■

Grownup Rebels

IF EGYPT'S REBELS BEHAVED LIKE RESPONSIBLE grownups, it's because so many of them actually are. Thirty-somethings

Cham
To win the army over
to their side, protest
leaders urged people to
"hug a soldier"



NATION

The Man Who Said No to Easy Money

With the economy growing fitfully and jobs still scarce, the high priests of the Federal Reserve want to keep the country's cash spigots wide open—all except Thomas Hoenig. If he's right, he may become the prophet for a new age of American austerity

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

LATE IN JANUARY, THE HIGH priests and priestesses of the U.S. economy gathered inside their Washington sanctum for the regularly scheduled ritual known as the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC). This is the group that decides the value of money, measured by interest rates, which it controls by easing or tightening the money supply. Of course, there are other forces that influence the value of money—a great global whirlwind of forces—but most don't hold orderly meetings in a grand conference room on Constitution Avenue.

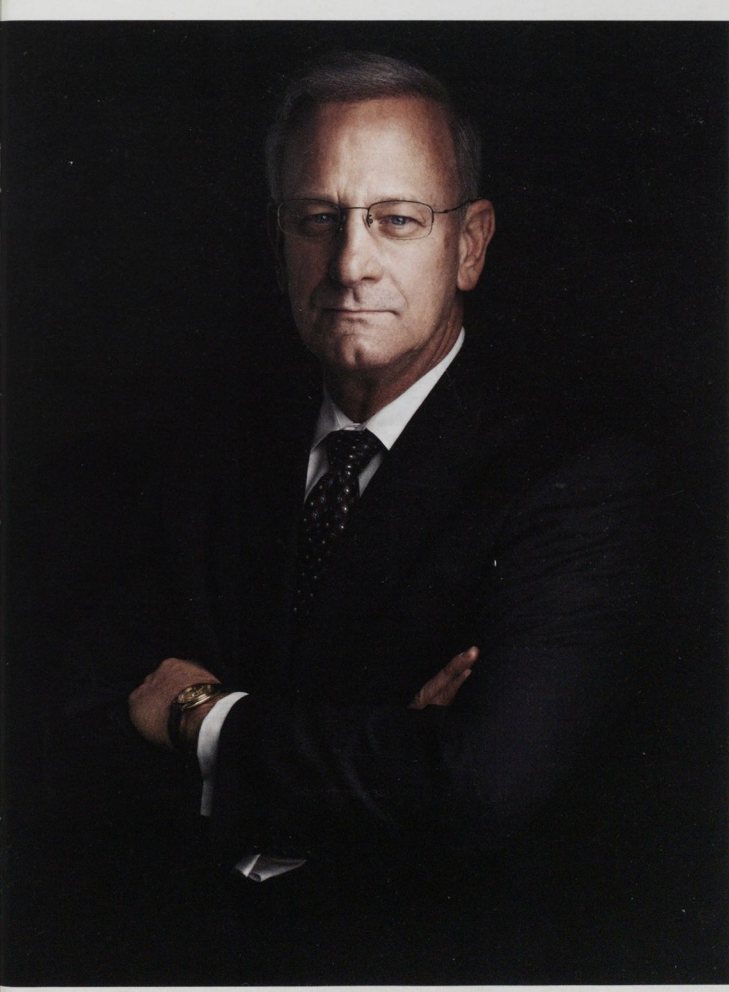
The FOMC's mission is to steer a course between the shoals of high unemployment and high inflation, putting enough dough into circulation to keep the economy well fed and growing—but not so much that money begins to plummet in value. The priesthood meets eight times per year, reporting its decisions in oracular statements of Olympian voice. This year, when the committee spoke, Fed watchers noted something striking: for the first time since 2009, the members were unanimous. All supported the chosen policy of adding \$600 billion to the banking system by purchasing that amount of Treasury bills from big banks—a strategy known as quantitative easing.

And here's the reason they were finally unanimous: Thomas Hoenig couldn't vote. Throughout 2010, this tall Iowan with thin white hair and cuff links like gold coins was a voting member of the priesthood. He sized up the data, then cast his lonely ballot against the indefinite reign of easy money. Eight meetings, eight no votes—a rare unblemished record of recalcitrance that made him a hero to inflation hawks and a pariah to the many economists who believe that, with unemployment above 9%, the engine of the economy needs further priming.

Hoenig would still be issuing dissents

A heretic in the priesthood Thomas Hoenig, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Mo.

Photograph by Marco Grob for TIME



if his one-year term as a voting member had not expired (non-New York regional Fed presidents share votes on a rotating basis). With his mandatory retirement at 65 as president of the Federal Reserve's 10th District looming in October, he will never get another chance, though he plans to continue his critique of government policy as a think tanker, consultant or author. When I paid him a visit a couple of days after the FOMC's unanimous vote, Hoenig (pronounced *Hawn-ig*) was happy to explain his unyielding point of view, one that has become ever more relevant now that rising commodity prices have put inflation worries back on the economic radar screen.

Amber Waves of Grain

HOENIG'S VIEWS START, QUITE LITERALLY, with his view. His corner office sits atop a buff-colored tower on a hill overlooking downtown Kansas City, Mo., with the gently rolling hills of Missouri and Kansas stretching into the distance. "I'm not sure people in New York and D.C. are thinking about agricultural land prices and mineral rights the way I am," Hoenig ventures safely. What he sees through his soaring windows are the signs of an economy that supposedly doesn't exist in the U.S. anymore, a well-balanced one that resists both booms and busts. Hoenig can see a resilient and promising manufacturing sector—notice the big GM plant in the middle distance, where the carmaker is investing \$136 million to prepare for production of the redesigned 2012 Chevy Malibu. The high rises of downtown are home to some of the soundest regional banks in the country. Slicing through the foreground is a freight train hauling the heavy commodities mined and grown in the nation's midsection. The horizon contains some of the most productive farmland on earth, and beyond lie rich reserves of oil and gas. Since the start of the financial crisis, the unemployment rate in the 10th District has been about 2 percentage points lower than the national rate.

In other words, for all the headlines over the past quarter-century about the death of American manufacturing and the twilight of community banks and the vanishing farmer, those humble building blocks of a sound economy still figure significantly in Hoenig's perspective. The way to strengthen them, he believes, is not by pumping money into a financial system that encourages megabanks to engage in high-risk speculation. You build them up by encouraging savings, which form capital for investment, which builds stronger businesses, which hire workers and pay dividends—which leads to more savings and more investment.

But by keeping interest rates near zero indefinitely, the Fed is "asking savers to continue to subsidize borrowers," Hoenig says. "What incentive is there to save and invest?" This insight was gaining ground after the irrationally exuberant Alan Greenspan years at the Fed. The former chief issued a mea culpa for piling too much money onto the economic bonfire that led to the Great Recession. But the crash of 2008 was precisely the wrong time to shut off the fuel supply. Hoenig supported massive infusions of money to save the world economy from a replay of the Depression. Now he simply believes the time has come to start sobering up.

Certainly, Hoenig's thrifty Midwestern sensibilities sound quaint to the central bankers in Washington and New York City who dominate the FOMC's deliberations. But he is adamant that his perspective is every bit as worthy as the view from Wall Street or from K Street or from the Princeton faculty club. "Provincialism," Hoenig observes, "is not unique to the provinces." He believes that the bad effects of easy money are already cropping up in the heartland. Hoenig's domain stretches across Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado and parts of Missouri and New Mexico. Surveying those states, his economists find that the price of farmland is escalating wildly. "Agricultural land is appreciating almost weekly," he says. Energy prices are booming as well.

There is more going on here than a simple rise in economic activity, Hoenig thinks. Rocketing land and energy prices are telltale signs, he says, of too much money sloshing around. "When you put

this much liquidity into the system, it has to go somewhere." It won't go into savings as long as the Fed keeps interest rates near zero. So the money starts chasing assets with higher yields—like land, the once again booming stock market and energy (indeed, some savvy Wall Street investors believe quantitative easing is a major factor in the current run-up in oil prices). As more money joins the chase, asset prices rise and keep rising until...

Pop.

Remember pop?

"This is how bubbles are formed," Hoenig says. He has seen it all before. A career employee of the Fed in Kansas City, Hoenig is the longest-serving district president, with more than 18 years in his post. Before reaching the top job, he helped mop up the damage from the oil-price bubble of the mid-1980s. A little bank in the 10th District, Penn Square Bank of Oklahoma City, went wild in that boom, packaging unsound loans and selling them to other banks—sound familiar? When the bubble burst, Penn Square helped drag down the once mighty Continental Illinois National Bank in Chicago.

During his years as a regional Fed president, Hoenig has watched uncomfortably as the central bank began to play a larger and larger role in the public's perception of the economy. Monetary policy "came to be seen as the solution to more and more economic issues. It has been used to deal with one crisis after another: a stock-market crash [in 1987], a recession [in 1990-91], a bubble in high tech [which burst in 2000], the 9/11 attacks, the Iraq war, a financial meltdown. People came to feel that all you had to do was ease interest rates and everything would be fine. But that's what gives us these bubbles," Hoenig says.

He knows that many people feel it's too soon to start tightening up on money when unemployment remains high and core inflation in the U.S. is low. As the joke goes, Hoenig has predicted eight of the past zero bouts of inflation. Maybe there's a reason he was all alone in his dissents. But he feels that his critics—notably Nobel laureate Paul Krugman, who has written that tighter money will "perpetuate mass unemployment"—overestimate the Fed's short-term ability to drive down unemployment, while underestimating the long-term damage of superlow interest rates.

"Inflation isn't a not-here-today, here-tomorrow phenomenon," Hoenig says. It builds slowly. "The sequence of events that led to runaway inflation in 1979 got started back in the mid-1960s. That's what I mean by long term."

Hoenig supported the Fed's dramatic

If Hoenig made policy, he would set a course toward high savings rates and a strong currency



A sense of history Hoenig (standing, second from left) spent a year in Minn.



Life in the inner sanctum Hoenig (back row, fifth from the left) at a 2009 meeting of the Federal Open Market Committee

actions in 2008 and 2009 to pour trillions into the staggering financial system. But now the economy is growing fitfully, and all that money "is looking for places to go." A lot of it is pouring into places like Brazil and China, where, Hoenig notes, inflation is rising sharply. Global food prices have risen 25% in the past year, according to the U.N., and many nations are starting to hoard commodities.

Wall Street vs. Main Street

MEANWHILE, IN AMERICA, THE MOST RAPIDLY rising prices aren't factored into the core inflation rate, because food and oil are considered too volatile to produce a reliable measure. But just because these costs aren't part of the inflation rate, it doesn't mean that people don't have to pay them. In fact, the poorest 60% of American households spend 12% of their income on energy alone, compared with the 3% spent by the richest 10%.

"Inflation is so unfair," Hoenig declares passionately. "It is the most regressive tax you can impose on the public," he adds. "It erodes the buying power of the poor and people on fixed incomes. The people who have money and are savvy come out ahead. In fact, they end up stronger than before."

It's not just the Fed's loose-money policy that bothers Hoenig. He feels that little has been learned from the crisis and that government policy continues to smile on

Wall Street but not on Main Street. Instead of breaking up the financial giants whose gambles crashed the economy, the government has let the biggest banks grow even bigger. Now they're gorging on free money. Where is the penalty for failure? "We don't have a market economy now," Hoenig says. "I hate to use this term, but it's almost crony capitalism—who you know, how big your political donation is."

If Hoenig made policy, instead of disents, he would set his course toward "high savings rates, low leverage and a strong currency." He would bring back the Depression-era Glass Steagall rule

that barred commercial banks from taking excessive risks. He would reduce government debt and promote a manufacturing revival. "We can become a low-cost producer again," he says. "It won't be easy—there is no painless approach. But Germany has done it, and we can too."

Hoenig acknowledges that he has been accused of grandstanding at the end of his Fed career. In his mind, there's no point in giving regional Fed chiefs a vote if they're not going to vote with their conscience. His stand has attracted admirers, like the octogenarian from Connecticut who dug up his unlisted phone number and called him at home one Sunday last year to urge him not to back down.

He won't.

One of the great novels of Kansas City, Evan S. Connell's *Mr. Bridge*, tells the story of a man who would have applauded Hoenig's dissents. A lawyer who invested "in companies that he considered essential," Mr. Bridge abhorred "speculations" and lived by the principle that "it is better to trade too little than too much." That spirit of thrift and caution is out of style in a world that's still awash in complex derivatives and computerized trading, a world of trillion-dollar deficits. But it lingers in Kansas City and in the impulses among people like Thomas Hoenig, who may come to be seen as a prophet for a future that looks a little more like a distant past.

Warning Sign. Overall inflation isn't rising yet, but food and oil are up sharply





Road to the future Most of the World Expo is coming down

BUSINESS | INTELLIGENT CITIES

Taming Shanghai's Sprawl. Its eco-friendly redevelopment could be a model for China

BY BILL POWELL/SHANGHAI

IN THE BITTERLY COLD DAYS BEFORE THE Chinese New Year, bulldozers worked overtime on the site of last year's World Expo in Shanghai, tearing down all but five of the 54 giant pavilions that once cluttered the 1,305-acre (528 hectare) site on both banks of the Huangpu River that bisects the city. The demolition isn't an end but the beginning of a project far more ambitious than a mere World's Fair.

The Shanghai government trumpeted the "Better city, better life" theme of the Expo far and wide. Now it has pledged to transform its chaotic sprawl into something more livable for its 19 million or so inhabitants within 10 years. The effort is more than propaganda. For at least five years, China's central government has tried, with mixed success, to impress upon the country's major cities that the growth-at-all-costs economic model, which has intensified environmental degradation nationwide, had to change. Now Shanghai, arguably the capital of that model, has embraced sustainability as the core of its next stage of development.

The country, and the world, will be watching. The redevelopment of the Expo site could become the most visible symbol of one of modern China's most difficult problems: coping with the intensifying urbanization of the country. China already has 12 cities with a population above 5 million—more than any other country in the world. There are roughly

600 million urban residents in the nation today, a figure that will rise to 1 billion by 2030, according to a study by the McKinsey Global Institute. Making this transformation less chaotic and more environmentally sustainable is one of the critical goals laid out in Beijing's latest five-year plan. No wonder: many economists consider environmental degradation the biggest long-term risk to China's economic future.

The vast Expo site creates a unique opportunity. One of the cardinal tenets of sustainable urban development is that density is a good thing. It generates economies of scale in public transportation, smart grids and other environmentally friendly infrastructure. Shanghai has for decades been a poster child for urban sprawl. The Expo site will bring development back to the city's center, linking both the older Puxi side of the city with Pudong, to the river's east.

The Expo site was formerly an old industrial area that comprised 272 pollution-belching factories. What will replace it, by 2020, according to city planners,

is an eco-friendly zone of parks, conference and convention centers and pedestrian-friendly retail and commercial space (which will help curb automobile pollution). Renewable energy—mainly wind and solar—will be the primary source of power. Mayor Han Zheng has already touted the development plan as a critical component of Shanghai's goal of reducing energy intensity (energy use per unit of GDP) 16% by 2015. All new construction will use eco-friendly materials, some recycled from the demolished pavilions. According to one of the architectural brains behind the plan, the goal of the effort is audaciously straightforward: "We have to invent our own model of urban development," says Yu Kongjian, who heads the Beijing-based urban design firm Turen-scape, given that no other nation faces these problems on the same scale. "As China's urbanization continues, the rate at which it consumes energy and water has to change." The alternative, Yu has said, "is that the environment fails, and the economy fails."

Shanghai will be a test bed for the Chinese vision. A recent study by the Urban China Initiative—a joint research effort by McKinsey, Columbia University and Tsinghua University—found that Chinese cities that embraced sustainable growth actually grew their economies more quickly than those that, relatively speaking, ignored environmental issues.

For cities like Shenyang, in the northeast, the keys to enhanced sustainability and growth are policies that have helped polluting industries migrate well beyond urban areas and encouraged careful redevelopment of brownfield sites using input from the private sector. That's the template Shanghai is following. All summer, the city boasted it would become China's pre-eminent symbol of sustainable growth. It has 10 years to turn that into reality. ■



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First Lady, working mom, fashion icon:
Michelle Obama makes the mix look easy



**EVERYDAY
ICON**
MICHELLE OBAMA
AND THE
POWER
OF
STYLE
KATE BETTS

she finally found her groove in Oscar de la Renta pantsuits, Hillary Clinton confesses in her memoir, *Living History*, that she was slow to understand that her appearance was no longer solely a representation of herself: "I was asking the American people to let me represent them in a role that has conveyed everything from glamour to motherly comfort."

In Michelle Obama's case, her image has provided a welcome distraction from the challenges and criticisms her husband faced in his first two years in office. Whereas most First Ladies symbolize an Administration's psychological subtext,

Obama has done the opposite. The Administration muddles along; the President's popularity dips and dives—Mrs. Obama just puts her best outfit forward. She is as unflappable running a relay race in a pair of athletic pants as she is standing serenely on the steps of the North Portico in a glamorous evening gown. And she seems undaunted by risk taking, never plagued by second guessing, unafraid of making a statement. For the state dinner on Jan. 19 welcoming the President of China, Obama wore a brilliant crimson gown by British designer Sarah Burton of Alexander McQueen. Although some

2009

Inauguration
Jan. 20, 2009

Western States Ball
Jan. 20, 2009

Black History Month event
Feb. 18, 2009

Meeting Queen Elizabeth II
April 1, 2009

Meeting Nicolas Sarkozy
April 3, 2009

Flight to Moscow
July 5, 2009

Exercise program
Oct. 21, 2009

Seventh Avenue designers expressed disappointment that she didn't go with an American designer, the First Lady's diplomatic nod to her guest in the chosen color was impossible to miss.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Michelle Obama—and it is the essence of her style—is her ability to finesse the differences between what Eleanor Roosevelt called the person and the persona: the private self and the projected public image. The effortless way Obama carries herself suggests not only that she has mastered the art of blending person and persona but also that she has resolved one of the contradictions that have plagued working women in America for the better part of a century. Which is to say, the mistaken but deeply entrenched belief that style and substance define two mutually exclusive paths and that a woman has to choose one or the other.

You can see this contradiction played out in the two approaches First Ladies

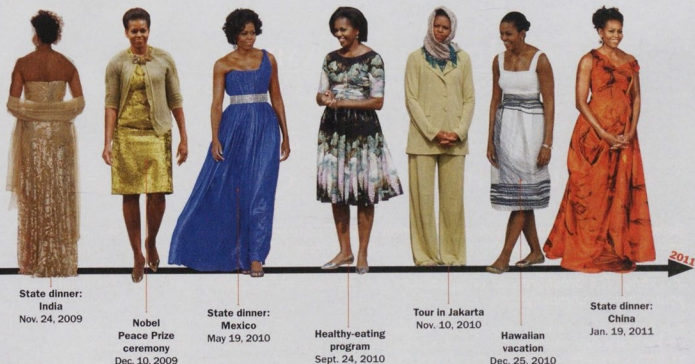
have taken throughout history. The style line runs from Dolley Madison to Jackie Kennedy and includes First Ladies who used style and image to advance their husbands' agendas and cultivate their own influence. The other line follows the course of 20th century feminism. It runs from Eleanor Roosevelt to Hillary Clinton—those First Ladies who broke with the traditional limits of the role and threw themselves into the political fray, testifying at congressional hearings, challenging conventions and championing causes.

Given her widespread reputation as one of the most stylish women ever to inhabit the White House, you might think Michelle Obama automatically belongs in the Madison-Kennedy lineage. But her background argues differently. No one can claim that Michelle Obama doesn't know what it's like to work or that she entered marriage because she didn't get an education and lacked economic power

of her own. It is plain that she has learned as much if not more from the example of Hillary Clinton as from the example of Jackie Kennedy.

What makes Obama exceptional is that she seems so at home in both camps. So at home that the whole debate about style and substance suddenly seems passé, an anachronism of the gender wars, a false dichotomy enforced by narrow-minded men and women at war with themselves. That Michelle Obama does not see style and substance as an either-or choice is a powerful statement that the underlying assumptions about women's roles and images have changed. Embodying the confluence of substance and style, she has helped reconcile the long-standing antagonism between them. She has, in some sense, made them one and the same.

Betts is the author of **Everyday Icon: Michelle Obama and the Power of Style**



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T-401 (k)

Quora is a Lake Wobegon-like place where everybody seems to be of above-average intelligence

TECHNOLOGY, PAGE 53

Life

□ FAMILY □ TECHNOLOGY □ MONEY



FAMILY

The Myth of The Slippery Bachelor.

A new study suggests men aren't afraid of commitment

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

AS VALENTINE'S DAY approaches and married people take a moment to express their boundless and eternal love for their spouse by buying chocolates made in faraway China a romantically long time ago, they tend to take pity on single folk. They imagine a vast tribe of female lonely hearts roaming an emotional Sahara, confounded by mirages that look like marriage-minded men. But according to what may be the biggest study of single people ever, that image is, like the enthusiasm for the chocolate, quite false.

Single men are, on the whole, as likely to want to get married as single women, the survey found. They are more likely than women to be open to dating people of a different race or religion, more prone to falling in love at first sight, more eager to combine bank accounts sooner and more likely to want children. (That distant choking sound you

hear is thousands of women finding this news hard to swallow.)

The study—of 5,200 people ages 21 to over 65 who weren't married, engaged or in a serious relationship—was funded by Match.com, which has a vested interest in understanding the partnerless. But it was carried out by an independent company in conjunction with Rutgers University anthropologist Helen Fisher, social historian Stephanie Coontz and the evolutionary studies program at Binghamton University. (Evolutionists are all over *mate selection*, which is the academic term for dating, because those who successfully pair up and procreate send their DNA into the next generation. Think of it as survival of the flirtiest.)

Their findings put the lie to the impression that all guys are Seth Rogen-esque commitmentphobes who regard the dating scene as a kind of all-you-can-meet buffet for their enjoyment. "This study confirms what my research on the brain shows," says Fisher. "The mechanisms for attachment for men and women are exactly the same. Just as many men want to get married as women do."

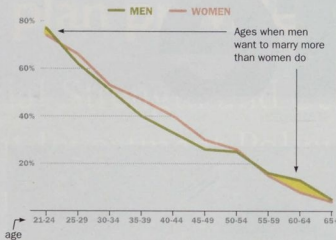
But the figures need to be parsed carefully. While overall, as many men as women wanted to marry, age played a big role in their preferences. Younger (ages 21 to 24) and older men (50 and up) were more favorably disposed to legal lifetime unions than their female peers. In the between years—the decades when women must pay heed to a uterine deadline—the ratios shift the other way.

Men's greater inclination toward parenthood, however, seems to hold across every age group. While more than half the single men ages 21 to 35 wanted kids, only 46% of the women did. After that, the difference widens further, and not just out of biological reality. Only 16% of childless women in the still fertile years from 35 to 44 wanted

Single Minds. What they want

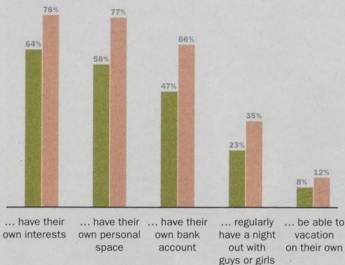
MARRIAGE

The percentage of men and women who say they wish to get married



INDEPENDENCE

If they were in a relationship, more women would regard it as important to ...



kids; 27% of the men did. Plus, more women than men were prepared to say definitively that they were skipping parenthood.

"Women are much more interested in their independence than men are," says Fisher. They value certain parts of their single lives more than men do: according to the survey, women are likelier to want to have their own bank accounts, their own interests, their own personal space and solo vacations, even if they're

in a committed relationship. They also care more about nights out with buddies.

From the get-go, women are fussier about whom they'll consider for a partner. More men (80%) than women (71%) don't care about the race of a love interest, and many more men (83%) than women (62%) are flexible on their date's religious beliefs. It's not simply, the figures suggest, that guys are more pro-marriage than has been believed; it's that women are less so than the

stereotypes would have it.

Despite the size of the sample and the big names attached to the study, not everybody deems plausible the idea that men are slaving to become husbands. Mark Regnerus, a sociologist at the University of Texas at Austin, points to figures from the 2002 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health that show the opposite. When asked if they would like to be married, more single women ages 21 to 24 said yes than men. "Maybe this is a brave new world, but I'd be surprised if things had changed that fast," says Regnerus, a co-author of *Premarital Sex in America*, which explores how young people's attitudes toward sex affect their inclination to marry. But he concurs that women's enthusiasm for marriage has faded in the light of their growing economic independence. "For them more than men, marriage has to be good or it's not worth trading their newfound independence for."

Then again, acquiring a spouse is not the must-do item it once was on either sex's checklist. The Match.com study echoes other recent research that finds an increasing number of single people of both genders opting to skip marriage or at least being uncertain of its merits. Some of them could be putting up a brave front or have yet to be thwacked sufficiently by Cupid's arrow, because most Americans do eventually get married. However, there are now more than 100 million single people in the U.S.; households headed by married couples are in the minority.

It just may be that single people like being single. "We're still carting around the concept that they're workaholics or desperate or can't get on with anyone," says Fisher. "The reality is that many of them may be choosing this lifestyle."

Even if it means skipping the chocolates. ■

TECHNOLOGY

Query Club. Why question-and-answer site Quora has Silicon Valley all atwitter



BY HARRY MCCrackEN

WITH WEBSITES, AS WITH bands and restaurants, few things feel as good as discovering the next big thing before it gets big. If you were on Twitter in 2007, for instance, you got in when it still felt like a cool private club—long before Lady Gaga, Justin Bieber and millions of their admirers made it in. If you belonged to Facebook before mid-2004, you were already used to being part of an elite group: only students at a few Ivy League schools and Stanford were eligible for membership.

Today there's Quora. Founded by two former Facebook bigwigs and opened to the public last June, the question-and-answer site isn't yet a household name. But it has a feeling of hip exclusivity and impending greatness that's reminiscent of early Twitter and Facebook. Silicon Valley überblog TechCrunch is al-

ready covering the site so obsessively that readers are begging it to take things down a notch.

Like many Web 2.0 services, Quora isn't so much a new idea as a fresh take on an old one. A spiritual descendent of long forgotten start-ups such as Abuzz, AskMe and Keen, Quora lets you post questions and answers on any topic and search for ones that have been posted, from the factual ("When did Steve Ballmer become CEO of Microsoft?") to the metaphysical ("Why do people lie?"). As with Twitter, you can pick which members—or questions or topics—you want to follow. As with Digg, everyone can vote the answers up and down, so the best responses are easy to spot and the worst ones stay out of the way.

Nothing extraordinary about any of that. So why is Quora attracting so much attention? It's the community. On an Internet that can feel

as if it's inhabited largely by belligerent know-nothings, Quora is a Lake Wobegon-like place where everybody seems to be of above-average intelligence, often with an above-average stake in the subject. Much of the chatter on the site—which is headquartered in Palo Alto, Calif., not far from Facebook—is about Web start-ups, so if you ask about a particular venture, odds are that you'll get some thoughtful replies. And it won't be the least bit surprising if one of them comes from the founder of the company in question.

In one example that's the stuff of legend among Quora enthusiasts, a member asked

how much AOL spent to send out the zillions of trial-software CDs it distributed in the 1990s. The closest thing to an answer that person got was a less-than-definitive "over \$300 million." But among the respondents were AOL co-founder Steve Case and Jan Brandt, the former chief marketing officer who came up with the idea of carpet bombing the country with sign-up discs. Both gave personal looks at a topic they know better than anyone else.

The flip side is that Quora can feel very Silicon Valley-centric; I'm startled when someone recommends a restaurant or other business that's not in the Bay Area. For Quora to become a heavyweight, it needs to appeal to the masses—and make its interface less baffling—but it's tough to imagine the service welcoming an influx of millions of new users while retaining its cozy, smart feel. Still, it's not unthinkable that Quora could both get big and stay good. Twitter was once just as cryptic and insidery, and it's managed to grow with surprising grace. (If you don't want to interact with the Gaga freaks and Bieberites, you just don't follow them.) I'm rooting for Quora—and if you're a fan of Web services that are bursting with potential for community building, so should you. ■

It has a feeling of hip exclusivity and impending greatness that's reminiscent of early Facebook



Paper Trail. Newspaper delivery has shifted from kids on bikes to adults in cars—a bad sign for the U.S. workforce

BY TOM VANDERBILT

ASK A FORMER PAPERBOY about the job, and you're likely to summon a misty-eyed recollection of predawn bundling and knee-high snow. "It meant a lot to me as a kid," *Today* host Matt Lauer said of his first job. "Today it's basically something that doesn't exist."

With physical newspapers making their way to an ever shrinking number of customers, paperboys (and girls) have become an endangered species. In 2008 they made up just 13% of newspaper deliverers, down from nearly 70% in 1990. One reason for their demise: as cost-conscious newspaper companies shifted to large distribution centers, their carriers had to deliver bigger bundles of papers across a wider area. To entice adults with cars to fill this role, newspaper executives switched from using the term *paperboy* to *independent delivery contractor*. They also changed the job: few carriers today collect money from subscribers. The result is a different delivery experience for consumers. Instead of a kid throwing the paper on your porch (or in the bushes), an adult in a car puts it in your roadside mailbox or drops it at the end of your driveway.

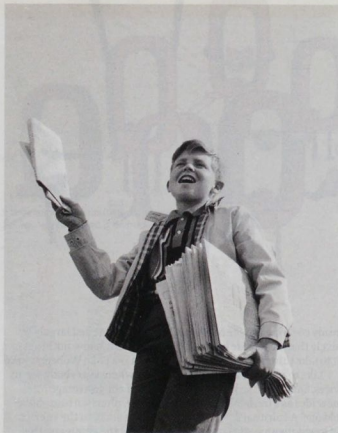
The larger culture around the paperboy has changed as well. Many kids have stopped delivering papers for some of the same reasons many of

them have stopped walking to school—the percentage of walkers has shrunk from nearly 50% in the late 1960s to just 16% in 2001. This is in part because of fears of stranger danger but also because families have been moving from suburbs to exurbs, which are simply too spread out for kids to cover on foot or on Schwinn Sting-Rays.

Why should we lament the passing of an entry-level, low-skilled job for America's teens? For starters, data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that by age 27, men who worked in high school earn an average of a dollar more per hour than

those who did not. Is it their early job experience that gives them a leg up, or are those kids simply more motivated? History teases suggestively: a young Benjamin Franklin delivered the *Boston Gazette*, Thomas Edison sold papers at the age of 12, and Warren Buffett was delivering the *Washington Post* long before he tried to buy it.

In 2008, paperboys made up 13% of newspaper deliverers, vs. 70% in 1990



Matt Lauer might be heartened to know that paperboys haven't disappeared completely. At least one U.S. daily, the *Times News*, which is based near Allentown, Pa., and has roughly 14,000 subscribers, still employs an all-youth carrier force. Depending on how close together the homes are on the routes, the kids get paid 12¢ to 15¢ per delivery.

"I think it's a vital part of a kid's growing up and learning to be their own businessperson," says Fred Masenheimer, the paper's publisher for 41 years. About half of its 100-plus carriers deliver papers on their own, while the rest—many of whom are preteens—are supervised by their parents. This is for safety reasons as well as to ensure delivery. "When you put your reputation on the back of a 10- or 12-year-old kid, you want to make sure they're doing the job properly," Masenheimer says.

His carriers still sling canvas bags across the handlebars of their bikes, and they still risk the occasional dog bite. Masenheimer himself was a Pennsylvania paperboy, delivering the *Hanover Evening News*. "They used to tell us it was the last 2¢ newspaper in America," he says. "So you can imagine how much money we made in a week." Nobody's getting rich as a carrier, he concedes, "but nobody's getting rich as a journalist these days either."

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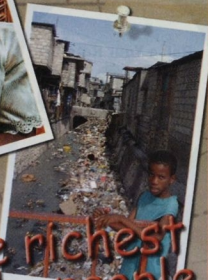
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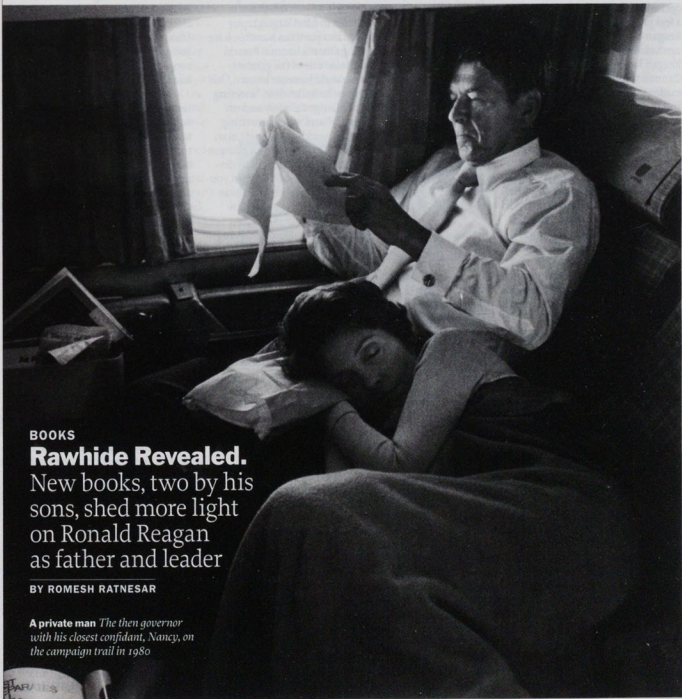
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ARCHITECTURE, PAGE 60

Arts

BOOKS TUNED IN ARCHITECTURE SHORT LIST



BOOKS

Rawhide Revealed.

New books, two by his sons, shed more light on Ronald Reagan as father and leader

BY ROMESH RATNESAR

A private man The then governor with his closest confidant, Nancy, on the campaign trail in 1980

TWENTY YEARS AGO, JOURNALIST Lou Cannon published an 800-page book, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*, which would become the quintessential political biography of the 40th President. (Barack Obama pored over it during his Christmas vacation.) Anchored by hundreds of interviews, the book helped reshape the public's understanding of Ronald Reagan, a leader guided by a bedrock set of principles who managed to compromise with adversaries, including the Soviet Union; a fundamentally optimistic man who also harbored a fear of Armageddon. Above all, Reagan came across as someone of unshakable belief. "Whatever Reagan lacked in analytical skills," Cannon wrote then, "he more than made up for with common sense and the power of his personality."

In the decades since, politicians and historians have struggled to limn the secrets of the Reagan persona, without much success. For all his wit and spark, Reagan was a remote figure. He had few confidants other than his wife Nancy; even she admitted that "there's a wall around him." His relationships with his four children could be distant to the point of estrangement. After her final meeting with her boss in the Oval Office, speechwriter Peggy Noonan concluded, "I would never know him."

So who was Reagan? How did such a guarded and self-possessed man become the most beloved American politician of the past quarter-century? What explained his faith that the Cold War would

end? Was he simply playing a role, or did he know something the rest of us did not?

The centennial of his birth on Feb. 6 provides an occasion to grapple with Reagan's enigma and his hold on the American imagination. Both of his sons, Michael and Ron, have written admiring new books about their late father, though they diverge in tone and emphasis. Michael Reagan, adopted at birth by Reagan and his first wife Jane Wyman, has in the past criticized his father's absentee parenting. But *The New Reagan Revolution* is an exercise in filial hagiography wrapped in a partisan handbook for defeating Obama in 2012. Ronald Reagan was "one of the greatest men the world has ever known," his son writes; he believed in "meeting every challenge squarely and unflinchingly" and was "something rare in this world—an honest man in politics." Those seeking a glimpse into Reagan's inner life will be disappointed. "The Ronald Reagan you saw on TV," Michael reports, "was the same Ronald Reagan we saw around the house."

A more nuanced and satisfying portrait is provided by Ron Reagan in *My Father at 100*. Journeying to the Illinois prairie towns where his father grew up, the younger Reagan deftly assembles the fragments that helped form the character of the future President: his father Jack's drinking problem and long absences from home; the dozens of rescues he made as a teenage lifeguard on the Rock River; his "obsession" with making the college football

team even as he excelled as an actor and student organizer. The formative experiences of Reagan's youth instilled in him a sense that he was "an agent of destiny... certain his worth will be recognized."

My Father at 100 is most poignant in its description of the author's search for his father's approval, forever just out of reach. "Like all my siblings, I loved my father deeply, at times longingly. He was easy to love but hard to know," Ron Reagan sees his father as essentially lonely and driven to be regarded as a hero. By the time he reached the White House, Reagan had found "more fame than even his imaginative young mind could have dared to conjure," though his public mission hadn't yet come into view.

But then it did. Barely two months into his presidency, Reagan was shot by John Hinckley Jr. As detailed in *Rawhide Down*, Del Quentin Wilber's meticulous re-creation of the assassination attempt (out next month), Reagan was literally an inch from death—that's how close to his heart the flattened .22-caliber bullet stopped. After the President emerged from chest surgery, a reporter asked a doctor if Reagan's survival was medically "extraordinary." "Maybe not medically extraordinary," the doctor replied, "but just short of that, O.K."

What was extraordinary was Reagan himself: his almost otherworldly grace under pressure, cracking jokes and extending courtesies while struggling to stay alive. ("I don't mean to trouble you, but I am still having a hard time breathing," the President told a doctor as he was wheeled into the trauma bay.) Reagan survived, of course, and in so doing attained the heroic status he had long craved. He told aides he believed he had been spared for a purpose. In time, he concluded it was "to reduce the threat of nuclear war."

By the end of Reagan's presidency, the arms race was over; nine months after that, the Berlin Wall fell. We may never truly know what made Reagan believe the world could change for the better. What matters is that it did. ■

Ratnesar is the author of *Tear Down This Wall: A City, a President and the Speech That Ended the Cold War*

My Father at 100
BY RON REAGAN

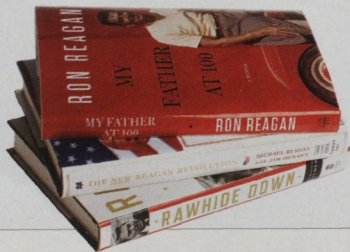
FIRST LINE: Through the sepia of the old photograph, I can make out the man, his left foot casually crossed over the right, leaning against the corner post of a storefront window display.

The New Reagan Revolution
BY MICHAEL REAGAN

FIRST LINE: In 1976, my father, Ronald Reagan, took on a seemingly impossible challenge: He attempted to unseat the incumbent president of his own party, Gerald Ford.

Rawhide Down: The Near Assassination of Ronald Reagan
BY DEL QUENTIN WILBER

FIRST LINE: A day before the course of his Presidency was forever changed, Ronald Reagan walked to church with his wife, Nancy.





James

Poniewozik

America's Game. For five years the football drama *Friday Night Lights* has bridged the Hollywood-heartland divide

WOODY GUTHRIE'S "THIS LAND IS YOUR Land," written in 1940, tells us that every American has a claim on all of America: cities and deserts, wheat fields and skyscrapers. What a quaint notion. Today we talk more in terms of your America and my America—from Sarah Palin, who praised the "pro-America areas" of the country, to Kevin Smith, who directed *Red State*, a horror movie about a fundamentalist nut job in flyover country.

Dividing us into town and city, red and blue, real and fake is usually an oversimplification to secure votes, ratings or box-office revenue. But if there's one legitimate Hollywood-heartland divide in pop culture, it's on our TV screens: the great shows of the past decade—*The Sopranos*, *Mad Men*, *The Shield*, *30 Rock*—have largely been a travelogue of coastal blue states.

Since 2006, *Friday Night Lights*, whose finale airs on DirecTV on Feb. 9, has been an exception. (NBC, which co-produces *FNL*, will run the final season later this year.) Set in small-town Dillon, Texas, this brilliantly written and acted drama about high school football—and much more—has been a moving, regionally specific but universally true portrait of America.

***FNL* is not a political show, except that it's about those things politicians like to lay claim to: community, values, faith, the little guy, the kids.** Eric Taylor (Kyle Chandler) begins the series as head coach of the Dillon Panthers, whose winning history is the best thing this working-class small town has going for it. His wife

***Friday Night Lights* is a football show, but one in which what matters above all is not the Hail Mary pass but the faces in the stands watching its arc**

Tami (Connie Britton) is a counselor, and later principal, at the school.

Like that other classic of small-town America, *It's a Wonderful Life*, *FNL* is about community, its benefits and its burdens. Coach Taylor, like George Bailey, is put upon, second-guessed and sometimes held back by his town. After the third season, he loses his job in an administrative power play and goes across town to



rebuild the football program at East Dillon, the town's poor-credits high school.

Yet when he's tempted to quit or when college-coaching opportunities come along, he's drawn back by the people who need him: the kids for whom football is their shot at college, the locals who hold to their team with a faith akin to theirs in God. (Few series are as matter of fact about the importance of religion, be it expressed in church or in a student's Christian speed-metal band.)

It's not only Coach Taylor who feels the tug of others. Story line after story line on *FNL* is about having responsibility for someone else. We meet players who care for a grandmother with dementia or a mother with a drug habit, who have to bail out a brother in trouble with the law or miss classes to help run a family farm.

The underlying theme is, we need each other. Everyone, even a teenager, is part of a web of dependence. You could see the show, from the right, as an ex-

ample of how the best social programs are a job, a family and self-discipline; you could see it, from the left, as an argument for the crucial importance of an underfunded government institution, the public school. You would be right both ways.

FNL has shown the same generosity and nuance in dealing with tricky social issues. A Season 4 episode in which a player's estranged father dies in Iraq was a complex depiction of grief, mixed emotions and war's impact on a small town. That season, a student had an abortion, a rarity on TV since *Maude*'s in 1972. *FNL* was unapologetic and unflinching in showing the decision and its repercussions—no

just for the girl, but for Tami, who has to leave her job for having counseled her. *FNL* handled the story with such grace that even Andrew Breitbart's conservative website Big Hollywood praised the episode's "dignity and maturity."

***FNL* has pulled this off by sticking to one byword: respect.** Dillon has unemployment, drugs and strip clubs, but it's also a town where teenagers still say "ma'am" and "sir." Coach Taylor is respect personified. Unlike Don Draper, he's a hero, not an antihero; Chandler gives him a soft-spoken honor that today's serious drama rarely depicts. And he gives respect back, teaching his players the strength that comes from unironic devotion, captured in the motto "Clear eyes, full hearts, can't lose."

Though they can, of course. Sometimes teams lose, families lose, towns lose. What saves them is teamwork, which goes beyond the sidelines. *FNL* is a football show, but one in which what matters above all is not the Hail Mary pass but the faces in the stands watching its arc. "When you go back out on the field," Taylor tells his team as they trail in a big game at halftime, "those are the people I want in your minds. Those are the people I want in your hearts."

Just as HBO's crime-drama masterpiece *The Wire* was a searing vision of what is wrong with America, *Friday Night Lights* has been a clear-eyed, full-hearted tribute to what is right with it. Whether you're urban or rural, red or blue or purple, this show was made for you and me. ■

ARCHITECTURE

The Music Men.

Frank Gehry and Michael Tilson Thomas dream up a concert hall for the 21st century

BY RICHARD LACAYO

ARCHITECTS SOMETIMES LIKE TO TALK about breaking out of the box. Classical musicians, it turns out, have the same idea. Michael Tilson Thomas, music director of the San Francisco Symphony, wanted a new home for his other passion, the New World Symphony—a Miami-based orchestra and academy that provides up to three years of seasoning for young musicians. Frank Gehry was the perfect candidate for the job, and not just because he used to babysit Tilson Thomas many years ago when the conductor was growing up in Los Angeles. No one has broken out of the box more spectacularly than Gehry, creator of the mighty Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain; his Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles is one of the most inviting symphony spaces in the world. Now, at a time when symphony orchestras are suffering from declining audiences and revenues, what both men wanted was a building that would take classical music and launch it powerfully into the world.

To bring the audience closer to the musicians, Gehry configured the 756 seats in the New World Center's main auditorium around the stage. During performances, nine high-definition video cameras feed images to an editing booth, which transmits an edited feed to a vast 7,000-sq.-ft. (650 sq m) projection wall on an exterior wall of the building, allowing audiences in the adjoining park to enjoy the music outdoors. Back inside, rehearsal rooms are Web-connected to allow the young musicians in Miami to take video-conference-style master classes from instructors anywhere in the world. If it all works, this won't be just a concert hall you go to. It will be a concert hall that goes to you. ■

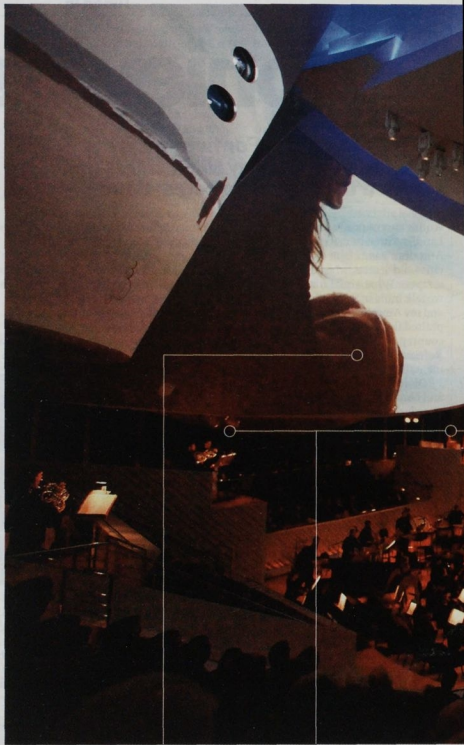
How to Set Music in Motion. The New World Center has new ways of doing that

Video-screen sails

Large plaster panels do double duty: as acoustic reflectors to enhance the orchestra's sound and as video screens for performances that call for projected images to accompany the music

Performance balconies

Above the stage, platforms accommodate smaller ensembles so a program can move smoothly from orchestral works to a trio or quartet





Outdoor wallcasts

In the new park outside the center, visitors can set up chairs or lounge on the lawn to watch performances free of charge on a giant projection wall. When no performances are taking place, it displays video art or films



Wired rehearsal rooms

To permit long-distance collaboration, the center's numerous rehearsal studios (like this typically voluptuous Gehry-designed module at left) are wired for Internet2, the high-bandwidth network used by many universities and research facilities

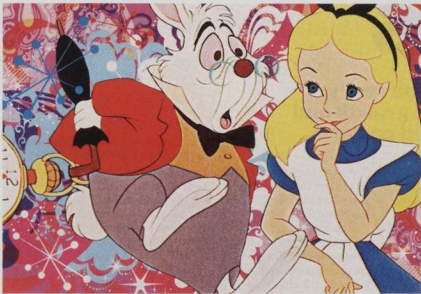
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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 DVD Alice in Wonderland

On the head-over-heels of this month's three Oscar nods for Tim Burton's 2010 3-D version, here come immaculate DVDs and Blu-rays of Disney's 1951 animated feature. Sly, dry and richly designed, this 60th-anniversary edition offers oodles of extras for the curious (and curiouser).

2 MUSIC Bella

Teddy Thompson, son of folk legends Richard and Linda, has never made such a buoyant album. But fans of his keenly withering lyrics needn't worry that he's mellowed: Who else would woo an ex with "I know you're hoping to move on/ But now I've written you this song"?

3 TELEVISION Justified

U.S. Marshal Raylan Givens (Timothy Olyphant) has a ten-gallon hat but chases drug runners, not rustlers. Season 2 of the Elmore Leonard-inspired series, starting Feb. 9, pits him against a local crime clan, with *Lost*'s Jeremy Davies in a twitchily felonious turn.

4 BOOKS The Heroes

Here's what to do while you wait for George R.R. Martin's next fantasy novel: read Joe Abercrombie's. It's a magnificent, richly entertaining account of a single three-day battle—complete with balletic Kurosawan violence—that leaves behind no heroes, only survivors.

5 MUSIC Zonoscope

On its third album, Australian electropop band Cut Copy channels its compatriots Men at Work with some of the best '80s new-wave sounds since, well, the actual '80s. The bright, sunny riffs in "Take Me Over" will serve all your midwinter dancing needs.



Q&A Matthew Perry

The former *Friend* is starring in *Mr. Sunshine*, a new ABC comedy he created about the manager of an entertainment arena who's turning 40 and re-examining his life. Perry talked to *TIME* about getting older, writing scenes and all that money he made from *Friends*.

You came up with the idea for this show, and you turned 40 a year and a half ago. So how much of it is based on you?

Some of it is based on me. I like to think I'm a little less selfish than this character, but at times in my life, I certainly have been that way. I've been accused of not really paying attention to a sentence unless my name comes up in it twice.

What was the writing process like?

When I did *Studio 60 on the Sunset Strip*, I would look over and see Aaron Sorkin pacing around in the corner of the stage, mumbling to himself. I thought, Well, he's crazy. And then I realized what he was actually doing was playing out the next week's scenes as he was writing them. And that was intriguing to me. So now I've become one of the people that mumbles in the corner of a room.

It sounds intense.

You know, I went from playing a video game, essentially, for a year to coming up with a job that makes you really busy.

By the end of *Friends*, you were making \$1 million per episode. Does having so much money change your perspective on life?

We all got lucky, and we're extremely grateful for that luck, but the old adage that it doesn't make you happy is certainly true.

I feel like I know you well enough now that I can ask you this: Can I borrow some money?

Um, that's the other thing you learn: when people borrow money, they never pay you back. So I guess no would be the answer. —ARI KARPEL



Reviews Online
For more releases and openings this weekend, go to time.com/entertainment



Nancy

Gibbs

The Best Investment. If you really want to fight poverty, fuel growth and combat extremism, try girl power

WE KNOW WHAT THE BIRTH OF A REVOLUTION LOOKS like: A student stands before a tank. A fruit seller sets himself on fire. A line of monks link arms in a human chain. Crowds surge, soldiers fire, gusts of rage pull down the monuments of tyrants, and maybe, sometimes, justice rises from the flames.

But sometimes freedom and opportunity slip in through the back door, when a quieter subversion of the status quo unleashes change that is just as revolutionary. This is the tantalizing idea for activists concerned with poverty, with disease, with the rise of violent extremism: if you want to change the world, invest in girls.

In recent years, more development aid than ever before has been directed at women—but that doesn't mean it is reaching the girls who need it. Across much of the developing world, by the time she is 12, a girl is tending house, cooking, cleaning. She eats what's left after the men and boys have eaten; she is less likely to be vaccinated, to see a doctor, to attend school. "If only I can get educated, I will surely be the President," a teenager in rural Malawi tells a researcher, but the odds are against her: Why educate a daughter who will end up working for her in-laws rather than a son who will support you? In sub-Saharan Africa, fewer than 1 in 5 girls make it to secondary school. Nearly half are married by the time they are 18; 1 in 7 across the developing world marries before she is 15. Then she gets pregnant. The leading cause of death for girls 15 to 19 worldwide is not accident or violence or disease; it is complications from pregnancy. Girls under 15 are up to five times as likely to die while having children than are women in their 20s, and their babies are more likely to die as well.

There are countless reasons rescuing girls is the right thing to do. It's also the smart thing to do. Consider the virtuous circle: An extra year of primary school boosts girls' eventual wages by 10% to 20%. An extra year of secondary school adds 15% to 25%. Girls who stay in school for seven or more years typically marry four years later and have two fewer children than girls who drop out. Fewer dependents per worker allows for greater economic growth. And the World Food Programme has found that when girls and women earn income, they reinvest 90% of it in their families. They buy books, medicine, bed nets. For men, that figure is more like 30% to 40%.

"Investment in girls' education may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world," Larry Summers wrote when he was chief economist at the World Bank. Of such cycles are real revolutions born.

The benefits are so obvious, you have to wonder why we haven't paid attention. Less than 2% of every development dollar goes to girls—and that is a victory compared with a few years ago, when it was more like half a cent. Roughly 9 of 10 youth programs are aimed at boys. One reason for this is that when it comes to lifting up girls, we don't know as much about how to do it. We have to start by listening to girls, which much of the world is not culturally disposed to do. Development

experts say the solutions need to be holistic, providing access to safe spaces, schools and health clinics with programs designed specifically for girls' needs. Success depends on infrastructure, on making fuel and water more available so girls don't have to spend as many as 15 hours a day fetching them. It requires enlisting whole communities—mothers, fathers, teachers, religious leaders—in helping girls realize their potential instead of seeing



them as dispensable or, worse, as prey.

A more surprising army is being enlisted as well. A new initiative called Girl Up (girlup.org) aims to mobilize 100,000 American girls to raise money and awareness to fight poverty, sexual violence and child marriage. "This generation of 12 to 18-year-olds are all givers," says executive director Elizabeth Gore, the force of nature behind the ingeniously simple Nothing but Nets campaign to fight malaria, about her new United Nations Foundation enterprise. "They gave after Katrina. They gave after the tsunami and Haiti. More than any earlier generation, they feel they know girls around the world."

And so the word goes out, by text, by tweet, on Facebook, that coming soon to a high school gym near you may be a Girl Up pep rally, where kids can learn what it feels like to carry a jerrican of water for a long distance, or how sending \$5 to Malawi can stock a health clinic with girl-friendly materials or buy school supplies. Or how \$5 to Ethiopia can make the difference in a girl's not being married when she's 10. And one at a time, a rising generation of American girls helps create the next generation of leaders, for the coming quiet revolutions. ■

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INTELLIGENT
CITIES

Cost of owning a car (per year):



Funds staying in the local economy

License, taxes, repair,
tires, registration,
maintenance

\$1,390

Funds leaving the local economy

Gas, insurance,
purchase price over time,
finance charges

\$7,095

If a city could reduce car ownership by 15,000 cars:



\$127,275,000

Money that could stay in the local economy

According to AAA, Americans spend on average \$8,485 each year on their cars. Seems like a lot of money, doesn't it? And most of that money leaves your local economy. What if you were able to get rid of a car and spend—or invest—that money in your community? What if 15,000 people decided to make that same decision? That's exactly what happened in Washington, D.C. From 2005 to 2009, the District's population increased by 15,862 people while car registrations went down by close to 15,000 vehicles. Living in a walkable city has value beyond personal convenience—it also allows more of your money to stay closer to home while reducing your carbon footprint. With better information, can we make our cities more intelligent? We can. **What makes a city intelligent? You do.**



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